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# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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2 February 1984

# USSR REPORT

## POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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# INTERNATIONAL

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## INTERNATIONAL

### FOREIGN POLICY, INTERNAL ASPECTS OF AFGHAN WAR VIEWED

#### Relations With Neighboring Countries

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 2 Nov 83 pp 1-3

[APN "digest" of Ye. Belov article in AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA No 10: "Afghanistan: A Political Solution Is Needed"]

[Text] The aggressive U.S. policy with regard to Afghanistan is part of the American global hegemony strategy, which includes interference in internal affairs of other countries, encroachment upon the independence and sovereignty of states and the consolidation of old "spheres of influence" and the acquisition of new ones. Washington's policy vis-a-vis Afghanistan is a major element of a plan to convert a vast region extending from Pakistan to Kenya into an American military and political stronghold to jeopardize the security of the USSR and other peace-loving states.

In carrying out their aggressive designs against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, imperialism and international reaction are using counterrevolutionary forces inside Afghanistan, which are led by representatives of feudal landowner circles, the compradore trading nobility and the reactionary wing of the clergy. Counterrevolutionaries pursue a policy of terror and physical elimination of representatives of the democratic regime and all its supporters. Imperialist propaganda is trying to present these hired killers as "freedom fighters."

Last March the Reagan administration organized a meeting of the leaders of Basmachi counterrevolutionaries who found asylum in the United States. None other than the U.S. President sent a "message of greetings" to the bandits responsible for the death of innocent Afghan civilians. President Reagan emphasized that his administration intended considerably to escalate an undeclared war against the Afghan revolution. He has repeatedly said in his public statements that he is ready to increase arms supplies to the counterrevolutionary bands. In 1983 Washington

planned to allocate more than \$100 million for the training of Basmachi counterrevolutionaries and arms supplies to them.

Pakistan is the chief base for preparation and staging of subversive actions against Afghanistan. There are about 80 centers where mercenaries and bandits are trained, who are then smuggled into Afghanistan.

The Afghan revolution is gradually overcoming its difficulties. The Afghan army, people's militia and security forces have dealt a series of crushing blows at counterrevolutionary forces. While successfully fighting internal counterrevolution, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan sincerely wishes to bring about a political settlement of the situation that has taken shape round Afghanistan.

The fundamental principles of the approach of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to a political settlement of the Afghan issue were formulated long ago, in May 1980, when Kabul offered Pakistan and Iran to hold bilateral talks for drafting an agreement on establishment of relations on the principles of equality, non-interference and good-neighborliness. The normalization of relations must be accompanied by termination of the hostile activity on the countries' territories, directed against each other, these proposals said. It also presupposes help of the authorities of Pakistan and Iran to the free return to the Homeland of the Afghans who for a number of reasons found themselves on the territories of the states neighboring Afghanistan. The DRA guarantees freedom and security to all the repatriates. In the opinion of the DRA government, corresponding guarantees on the part of some states, among them the USSR and the USA, must form part of the political settlement. In the context of the settlement there would be decided also the question of withdrawal from Afghanistan of the limited Soviet troops contingent which was stationed there at the request of the Afghan government in December 1979 fully in accord with the 1978 Treaty of Friendship, Good-neighborliness and Cooperation between the USSR and the DRA.

Afghanistan's proposals found support of the Soviet Union, of other socialist countries and a number of developing states. But the imperialist states attempted to advance their own "alternative proposals." Their essence lay in the idea of deciding the destiny of Afghanistan without the participation of the Afghan people and contrary to their will. In the final analysis, all of them boiled down to overthrow of the people's democratic government in the DRA. The unrealistic character of these proposals was so obvious that even Pakistan had to renounce them and eventually agreed to hold negotiations with Afghanistan with UN assistance.



To date, two rounds of the Afghan-Pakistani talks at the level of foreign ministers with the mediation of D. Cordovez, personal representative of the UN Secretary General, have already been held in Geneva.

The discussion concerned a wide range of questions and was held on the constructive basis. As a result, the sides' stands were clarified more exactly and the spheres in which there exists an accord, were revealed. Particular attention was devoted to the question of ending interference in Afghanistan's affairs.

The Soviet Union fully supports the foreign-policy initiatives and efforts of the DRA, aimed at achieving a just all-embracing political settlement of the situation which has emerged in connection with the developments in Afghanistan. It has adopted a positive attitude also to the Afghan-Pakistani talks which are under way.

All peace-loving forces are aware of the necessity of a political settlement of the problems existing in connection with Afghanistan. Illustrative of this is also the support of the ideas advanced by Kabul at the 7th non-aligned summit held in New Delhi in March 1983. [APN]

#### Internal Afghan Situation

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 83 p 6

[Article by Ye. Belov, candidate of historical sciences:  
"Afghanistan--a Political Settlement is Necessary"]

[Excerpt] In carrying out their aggressive schemes against the DRA, imperialism and international reaction rely on the internal Afghan counterrevolution, which consists of members of the feudal landowning circles, the compradore merchant elite and the reactionary wing of the clergy. And imperialist propaganda tries to present all these hired killers as "freedom fighters." [foot-note: Sometimes peasants, who have been fooled and confused by reactionary propaganda, also join the armed antigovernment bands.]

The counterrevolution carries out a policy of terror and murder against representatives of the democratic power and everyone who supports it. The bandits destroy economic objects and roads, take cattle from the peasants, burn down schools and kill teachers. By the calculations of Afghan specialists, the losses caused by the counterrevolutionary bands in agriculture alone total 1.5 billion afghanis. Losses in education are about one billion afghanis; 1,820 schools have been destroyed and burned down and 150 teachers have been killed.



However, the Afghan revolution is gradually overcoming its difficulties. Under PDPA leadership considerable successes in the country's economic, political and cultural life have been attained. As a result of the heroic actions of the Afghan army, people's militia and security forces, powerful blows have been delivered against the counterrevolutionary formations.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### TURKISH REPUBLIC'S ACHIEVEMENTS COMPARED TO ITS ORIGINAL GOALS

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 83 pp 14-16

[Article by G. Starchenkov, candidate of economic sciences:  
"Turkey: Contradictions of Development"]

[Text] On 29 October 1923 the founding of the Turkish Republic was proclaimed following the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. From the very first days of its existence the leaders of the new state determined strategic goals for the country's development and methods to achieve them. In brief they can be reduced to the following: ensure Turkey's political and economic independence, achieve the economic and cultural level of the European states, sharply increase the well-being of all citizens and grant them basic rights and freedoms. In the name of implementing these goals, private property in the means of production and the inviolability of the individual and capital were declared to be a "sacred law."

In the 60 years the republic has traversed a difficult evolutionary path, on which there have been ups and downs, considerable successes and major shortcomings. A brief analysis of the basic results makes it possible not only to determine the level at which these goals have been achieved, but also to evaluate the results of the country's chosen path of capitalist development.

The young republic was a backward agricultural country in which the feudal method of production dominated. For a period of years that lasted right up to the economic crisis of 1978-1980 the national economy demonstrated stable growth rates by using its significant material and human resources, as well as the worldwide achievements of science and technology. And although a relatively large segment of pre-capitalistic relations remains, capitalism has come to occupy dominant positions both in the city as well as the countryside, and it has become a system-forming development. At the present time Turkey has been transformed into an agrarian-industrial country, in which capitalism is approaching a middle level of development.

The republic has used (it was the first of the developing countries to do so) the state sector, created in the 30's, as the main "engine of progress"; its duties have included promoting the development of private enterprises. The state economic organizations, which enjoy subsidies from the state budget, have taken upon themselves the construction of unprofitable and inefficient enterprises and the construction of infrastructure facilities, thus creating favorable conditions for the activities of businessmen. The state banks have provided credit (frequently on advantageous terms) for private entrepreneurs. The state development plans, which have been put into practice since 1963, have become mandatory for state contractors and "recommended" for private contractors. In the process of creating mixed enterprises and companies the positions of major private capital have also grown stronger. Official data show that in the early 80's the private sector has nearly caught up with the state sector in terms of total capital investment and it has surpassed the state sector in terms of the value of output, and the number of people employed at enterprises, etc.

The first monopolistic associations arose in the 60's in the form of family holdings. While they were a result of the capital concentration and centralization process, they also noticeably accelerated this process at the same time. Foreign private capital took part in the activities of many monopolies (in 1982 there were 170 firms doing this). The largest monopolies were in fact transformed into mini-multinational corporations, in which the Turkish bourgeoisie retained a controlling number of shares. As a result of the "monopolization boom," the private firms Sabange Holding and Coach Holding entered the ranks of the largest monopolies in the capitalistic world in 1981 in terms of commodity turnover (they held respectively the 198th and 200th places). It goes without saying that the growth of monopolistic associations in terms of breadth and depth was accompanied by the ruin of small firms and independent production units, especially during the economic crisis.<sup>1</sup>

Since the 70's a process has taken place which is new to Turkey of merging industrial capital with bank capital (Coach Holding--Guaranty Bank, Sabange Holding--Akbank, Chukurova Holding--Pamukbank and Yapy Credit Bank, etc.) and forming financial capital. This process has still not become universal in nature, but it is noticeably gaining strength. We would note that the emergence of state-monopoly tendencies takes place when a country is far from having achieved the highest stage of capitalism.

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1. On this see G. Starchenkov, "Turkey. After the Adoption of the New Constitution," *AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA*, No 3, 1983.

Present-day Turkish capital is dependent in nature, although other goals were set when the republic was declared. At that time the Turkish government carried out the nationalization of many Western companies. Subsequently, however, there followed a decision about the use of foreign "non-exploiting" capital (from the Western European countries which represented a middle level of capitalist development). After the second world war, a policy of attracting foreign capital (both state and private capital) was instituted. It began to be implemented with particular vigor in the 80's. In 1979, for example, foreign capital investment amounted to \$6 million, in 1980 it amounted to \$60 million and in 1982 it amounted to \$601 million.

Obtaining assistance from the Western powers and their financial organizations has sharply increased state indebtedness. Turkey, despite the large sums which it has paid off (\$3.5 billion in 1981 and \$2.2 billion in 1982) entered its 60th year with a foreign debt of \$22 billion, along with interest, which was much more than the sadly well known debts of the Ottoman Empire, debts which marked its conversion into a semi-colony of the imperialist powers. And today this staggering foreign indebtedness is not only one of the serious obstacles to economic development, but also an important indicator of the loss of the country's economic independence.

Questions of economic and political independence have a more urgent ring than they did 60 years ago, if one also takes into account Turkey's adoption of various doctrines and its participation in the economic and military organizations of the Western countries: the adoption of the Truman Doctrine (1947), the Marshall Plan (1948), membership in NATO (starting in 1952), membership in the Common Market (with the rights of an associated member since 1963), as well as the conclusion of bilateral military agreements with the USA (1950-1980). In accordance with the recommendations of Western organizations, Turkey compiles five-year plans for socio-economic development (the first five-year plan was completely prepared by Western specialists), devaluates the lira (in 1946 a dollar was worth 2.8 lira and in 1983 it was traded at 202.2 lira!), grants its territory for U.S. and NATO military bases (a total of about 50 bases), increases military appropriations and supports some U.S. plans on a further round of the arms race. All this is extremely far from the original plans to ensure political and economic independence for the Turkish state.

Turkey expected that with the aid of the imperialist powers and foreign private investments that it would bring the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution to its national soil, that it would reach the developmental level of the West's productive forces. However, the successes have proved to be extremely modest here. As long ago as the mid-70's the government stated

that Turkey would reach Italy's 1970 level only in 1995. However this target, too, is extremely optimistic, because even in the 80's labor productivity (like the size of per capita income) here is still one-third to one-half of what it is in Italy. The economic crisis and the following years of depression are pushing this targeted date still farther into the future.

At the same time the country has achieved a number of positive results. Over a period of many years it worked to increase the Common Market quotas for its industrial goods (mainly textiles); however, the industrially-developed capitalist states made only minimal concessions, thus guiding Turkey to the development of agriculture rather than industry. It was only in the second half of the 70's that the country, after failing to achieve more favorable trade conditions with the EEC participants, began to develop commercial-economic ties with the states of the East, especially, the oil-producing nations. The new market for sales has contributed in no small degree to the increased activity of Turkish industry, as well as agriculture. Iraq and Iran became especially large buyers. In 1982 the proportion of industrial products in exports for the first time in Turkey's history reached 59.7 percent. Within a very brief period total export earnings doubled, increasing from \$2.9 billion in 1980 and \$5.7 billion in 1982. A significant influx of currency has made it possible to increase the country's solvency.

An analogous situation developed with the export of manpower. Beginning in the early 60's Turkey sent its workers to the EEC countries, where their total number reached nearly 1 million people. Beginning in the mid-70's the Western states for the first time limited the number of Turkish workers accepted, and then began to "non-forcibly" send them back. Turkey could have been in a critical situation if the oil-producing countries of the East had not "come to the rescue." Not only did they begin to accept an increasing contingent of Turkish manpower, they also permitted the activities of a number of contract construction organizations on their territory. This made it possible to once again raise the numbers of people departing for overseas and at the same time to increase the amount of foreign currency which they sent back to their native land (\$2 billion in 1980 and \$2.6 billion in 1982). The monetary transfer by workers and contracting organizations substantially improved the country's financial position.

Major shifts have taken place in the system for educating and training national personnel. The country has opened up a large number of elementary schools, high schools and universities; the number of higher and middle level specialists has been increased. In 1924 mandatory free education at the primary level was introduced, and in 1973 this was extended to secondary (eight-year) education. At the time the republic was declared 90 percent of



the population was unable to read or write, and now 33.3 percent cannot. It is true, that in terms of this indicator Turkey is many decades behind the European states.

Self-sufficiency in food is the country's most important achievement. The mechanization of agricultural production and the transition to modern farming methods has made it possible not only to increase the total harvest of agricultural crops but also to significantly increase the yields. A small portion of agricultural output is beginning to be sold abroad. In the future irrigation and the reclamation of cultivated lands will ensure that three harvests per year are obtained, and this may put Turkey in the top 10 producers of agricultural output.

However, as is characteristic of capitalist countries, improvements in the effectiveness of agricultural production are accompanied by negative phenomena. The application of machinery results in peasant labor being squeezed out, while the concentration of land in the hands of major agricultural entrepreneurs results in small renters being pushed off the land. The situation is complicated by the rapid growth of population (according to the first census of 1927, Turkey had a population of 13.6 million and at the present time the population is 47 million), which results in the splitting of land allotments among the heirs, and some of them remain landless. Agrarian overpopulation has grown constantly, and in the 80's it amounted to 5 million people.

Young rural residents started to migrate to the cities, where it seemed to them that job prospects were better. But large industry, which makes wide use of fixed capital, has accumulated a small number of workers and they are mostly skilled workers. Under the pressure of the "superfluous" manpower, there has been a swelling of the "tertiary sector" and small industry, where less-than-full employment has become widespread. When the republic was declared, the country had an acute shortage of manpower, but by the 60's unemployment had acquired visible features, and in 1983 it exceeded 3.3 million people (18 percent of the employed population). Moreover, people who are out of work do not receive any kind of unemployment compensation. And nearly twice that number work part-time (either an incomplete day or an incomplete week). As the country's present leaders acknowledge, the employment problem has become a very important social problem, which can be solved only in the next century.

In the post-war years, Turkey's housing problem has worsened, especially in the major cities. Every year nearly 500,000 rural residents migrate to the cities. State construction of housing is being carried out at an extremely slow rate (according to some estimates, it will take 240 years for workers to obtain state apartments). However, private landlords charge rents that make



apartments inaccessible to the majority of the population (rent goes as high as 40 percent of a worker's earnings). For this reason the migrants build shacks called "gedzhekonda," (literally homes built in one night). In 1955 there were 50,000 people living in these (4.8 percent of the urban population), and in 1983 the figure was 7 million (25 percent).

In the 50's the Turkish parliament passed several laws which categorically prohibited the construction of "poverty belts." The police tore down many of the shacks and drove away the inhabitants. But the migrants built the houses in other districts, and the number of the illegal settlements grew. This year the government has adopted a new decree: some of the "gedzhekonda" are receiving "legal status"; they are being supplied with services and the remaining settlements will be torn down. There is no doubt that these measures cannot resolve the housing problem for millions of Turkish citizens.

According to official data, per capita income amounted \$1300 in 1983, which provides evidence of a significant rise in the Turkish people's standard of living (although it is several-fold lower than the average European level). At the same time at least the following three circumstances should be kept in mind. In the first place, the law of rising needs<sup>2</sup> requires a systematic increase in the level of incomes in order for them to be able to satisfy growing needs. An analysis of the structure of an average Turkish family's expenses shows that about one-half to two-thirds is traditionally used for food and housing while only 9 percent is spent on the acquisition of household articles (including modern one), 2.3 percent is spent for cultural purposes and 1.6 percent for medical care. In the second place, the intensification of labor requires a higher calorie and more diverse diet. According to the unanimous opinion of economists and physicians a majority of the population does not have a diet which meets present-day standards. In the third place, Turkish statistics do not adequately take into account the growth of prices and inflation, which have become constant factors in a Turk's life. As the 17 December 1982 issue of the English newspaper THE FINANCIAL TIMES noted, a Turkish worker had to work six hours in 1963 in order to earn a kilogram of brynza (sheep's milk cheese), in 1981 he had to work nine hours to earn it and in 1982 he had to work 14 hours for it. These and other circumstances make it impossible to think that there is sufficient justification for setting the income at \$1300.

- 
2. Ever broader masses of the population want to enjoy television, telephones, transistors and refrigerators; they want to buy books and go to the theater, that is, that want to partake of a modern level of consumption.

The working class, which numbered about 300,000 people in the 20's now has about 5 million members. The growth of the proletariat has made it possible for it to create its own trade organizations and parties, to achieve the right to strike and demonstrate and to have its own press organs. Whenever the Turkish bourgeoisie intended to raise prices or taxes, to close workers organizations or arrest working class leaders, it had to contend with the increased organizational level and fighting efficiency of the working class. The struggle between labor and capital became particularly aggravated during the economic crisis, when the bourgeoisie was attempting to retain its profits by lowering the wages of hired employees and encouraging terrorism.

After the 1980 coup d'etat all progressive organizations were dissolved, strikes were temporarily forbidden, wages were frozen and working class activists were prosecuted. In accordance with the 1982 constitutions and the 1983 regulations on parties, the old parties were banned (the Communist Party of Turkey, in particular) and the new parties which are being established find themselves under the strict financial and political control of the state organs. The workers' right to strike has been substantially curtailed; freedom of speech and the press have been limited, as has the right to conduct street marches and demonstrations. There are harsher provisions in the criminal code for communist activities and for propagandizing progressive ideas. Even scientific organizations and universities are now monitored and they experience systematic purges of "unreliable elements." A wave of repressions has been let loose against writers and journalists (the dean of Turkish journalists, N. Nadi, has been sentenced to prison). The promises of the republic's founders about providing for the well-being of the working people and about expanding citizens' rights and freedoms have been consigned to oblivion.

In accordance with the new constitution, the powers of the republic's president have been significantly expanded at the expense of the functions of parliament and the cabinet of ministers. In particular, the head of state from now on plays a deciding role not only in forming the government but also in selecting the university rectors. The concentration of power in the hands of one person objectively testifies to the desire to establish a presidential form of rule, to increase the administrative-political role of the military elite and to reduce the level of bourgeois democracy previously permitted in the country.

Soviet-Turkish relations were established during the period of the Turkish people's national-liberation struggle, when the young Soviet state supported the fighting people with money and arms, which brought their victory noticeably closer. After the republic was proclaimed, the Soviet Union was the first to recognize

the independent state and extended economic assistance to it. However, from the late 30's to the mid-50's our ties were reduced to a minimum level.

Soviet-Turkish relations were gradually normalized, as can be seen in the economic cooperation which developed with particular success in the 70's. In the last three years agreement has been reached on the expansion of the metallurgical combine in Iskenderun and the petroleum refinery near Izmir, which were both built with Soviet assistance and on the construction of a thermal power plant and a number of other industrial enterprises. The building of these facilities strengthens Turkey's economic independence and contributes to the further development of good-neighborly relations between our countries.

Turkey has entered a new stage of socio-economic and political development, in which capitalist monopolies are proceeding toward the limitation of state sovereignty, increasing the exploitation of the working people and limiting their rights and freedoms, and while influencing the state apparatus, they are resorting to authoritarian forms of rule. And, clearly, it is for this reason that the goals proclaimed by the republic's founders now sound more urgent than they did 60 years ago.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### PHILIPPINE ECONOMIC, FOREIGN POLICY PROBLEMS DISCUSSED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 83 pp 17-20

[Article by V. Irinin: "The Range of Problems"]

[Text] The press is rightly called a barometer of socio-political life. It frequently reflects, as does a mirror, the processes which are taking place in any given state, as well as the problems which it is confronting.

In this regard the Philippine press is instructive: noticeable changes in its tone have taken place recently. Articles which depicted the country's state of affairs in rosy colors used to predominate on the pages of Philippines newspapers, but they are giving way more and more to materials which are permeated with concern and anxiety. And it should be said that there are quite serious grounds for these sentiments.

In many respects 1982 was not an easy year for Filipinos. This applies mainly to the country's economic situation, as it does in a majority of the developing states which have economies that are closely linked to the West.

As a result of the serious depression which the world capitalist economy is experiencing, the tightening of the imperialist state's protectionist policy and the relatively high oil prices which remain in effect, the basic economic indicators for the Philippines were significantly lower last year than they had been in previous years.

As the newspaper BUSINESS DAY, the organ of the country's business circles noted, these factors have given rise to the following: substantially reduced production in the main sectors of the national economy, the decline of export incomes, the growth of the balance of payments deficit, an increase in unemployment and a reduction in the living standard for a majority of the population.



Sharp price reductions for such traditional Philippine exports as timber, coconut plantation output, copper, sugar, etc. have turned into a 20-35 percent drop in income for each item, in comparison with 1981. There has also been a noticeable decline in currency income from electronics, ready-to-wear clothing and a number of other goods for which the demand was relatively high until recently. And this has a corresponding effect on the country's trade balance. According to a statement by the prime minister of the Philippines, Cesar Virata, the negative balance of payments has reached a "record" level--\$US 2 billion, and a state budget deficit of nearly 1.5 billion. Speaking bluntly, this amount is considerable if one takes into account the fact that the country's foreign debts exceeded \$17 billion, including \$5 billion for short-term loans.

All this cannot but affect the rates of economic growth, which declined from approximately 3.8 percent to 2.9 percent in the past year, despite the fact that in the 5-year plan they were calculated at the level of the 6.5 percent.

Growing unemployment is another consequence of these processes. Last year tens of thousands of people swelled the army of those lacking permanent earnings; their numbers are pushing 25 percent of the entire work force.

The Philippine countryside is also confronting complex problems. On the one hand, the government has succeeded in achieving tangible results in the sphere of agricultural production. For the first time in recent years the country is satisfying its rice requirement; moreover, some of the rice crop is beginning to be sent abroad. Agrarian reform is contributing to this in no small degree. However, the reform is partial in nature and does not encompass a significant proportion of the rural regions. In those places luxury continues to exist side by side with the poverty of the local residents, some of whom are abandoning their native areas and heading to the cities in search of employment.

The employment problem in the Philippines has another negative aspect, which is the large outflow of manpower overseas. According to the Ministry of Labor and Employment, in 1981 alone about 270,000 people left in search of jobs; moreover, there was a sharp increase in the number of departing specialists (in the last six years there were no less than 700,000 of them).

The growth of social tension is a direct result of the economic difficulties being experienced by the country. There has been a noticeable increase in the strike movement, and this at a time when strikes are forbidden according to existing legislation. The government is attempting to resolve this problem in two ways. On the one hand, it is trying to smooth over labor conflicts, urging workers and entrepreneurs to make compromises, and on the other hand, it is resorting to repression. It is officially acknowledged that a number of trade union officials are under arrest, charged with anti-government activities.

The opposition, which represents a rather motley conglomeration of various forces, is attempting to take advantage of the

country's difficult economic situation. The opposition includes church groups and the remnants of the old oligarchy--a bloc of large landowners and the compradore bourgeoisie against which many of the bourgeois nationalist reforms of President Marcos were aimed, reforms which provided for relatively high rates of economic growth in the 70's.

At present the opposition's activities are aimed primarily at the full restoration of bourgeois-democratic institutions. In the opinion of opposition leaders, the decree adopted by the president in 1981 which repealed the state of emergency which had been in effect since 1972, only eliminated some of its features (military tribunals, etc.), but at the same time it left in force the previously existing basic limitations on political and social activities. The subjects of criticism are not only the abuse of power, but also the unrestrained inflation, the decline in living standards and corruption.

However, the presidential elections, which took place in June 1981 brought a fairly convincing victory to Marcos, ensuring him another six-year term in office. A number of new laws, which were adopted both before and after the elections and which granted to the head of state unlimited powers in case of "emergency circumstances," strengthen his positions and preserve the armed forces' leading situation in the country; they will continue to "prevent or suppress violence, insubordination, rebellion and subversive activities."

At the same time it is clear from the practical actions of the Philippines leadership that it is aware of the seriousness of the situation and is trying to find a way out of it. In particular, the president confirmed his intention to carry out a gradual transition from the presidential form of rule based on the American model to the parliamentary form of state structure. He plans to complete it by May 1984, when the elections for the permanent National Assembly are scheduled.

However, the government is presently devoting most of its attention to economic problems. The authorities see the solution to these problems primarily in greater economic restraint, in the stimulation of private enterprise activities, in attempts to direct foreign capital investments into the sectors which are experiencing the greatest stagnation and in the continuation of agrarian reform.

However, official representatives recognize that it will not be easy to do this given the ever increasing pressure on the government from the foreign monopolies and the imperialist powers which stand behind them attempting to prevent limitations on the activities of foreign capital.



That is why serious Filipino politicians, when analyzing the causes of the difficulties which the country is facing, emphasize in every way possible that the effectiveness of the measures planned by the government depends largely on how consistently it will continue the policy of re-examining the unequal relations which have developed between the Philippines and the leading imperialist states, especially the United States. The bitter legacy of its colonial domination is tangible even in our times, 37 years after the Philippines won their independence.

Many of the crushing treaties and agreements with which the United States ensnared the young Republic of the Philippines remain in effect today. The most important of these is the agreement to locate American bases on Philippine territory. According to this document, which expires in 1984, the USA retains at present five military facilities in the Philippines, including the largest bases in southeast Asia, the Air Force's Clark Field and the Marine's Subic Bay Base.

For a majority of the Filipinos the American military presence is one of the most controversial and sensitive questions. It wounds their feelings as citizens; it offends their national pride and dignity because it limits Philippine sovereignty and creates a threat of direct intervention in the country's internal affairs, not to mention the real possibility of the Filipinos being drawn into a worldwide nuclear conflict against their will. One of the largest Philippine newspapers, BULLETIN TODAY, wrote: "Many of us have no idea what kind of terrible consequences nuclear war carries with it. And there are those who believe the American's deception, claiming that Filipinos are protected. They are lulled by tales that nuclear war will probably begin in far off Europe... It seems to some people that they are not able to change the course of events and for this reason they prefer to undertake nothing and to ignore the terrible reality. But we must answer to our children and for this reason we are simply obligated to act decisively. If military bases on our territory threaten the existence of the entire people, we must as one demand their elimination."

However, it should be recognized that the Philippines have some fairly influential forces which favor maintaining the bases. Moreover, arguments are advanced to the effect that the bases supposedly serve as means of protection against the "communist threat." They touch on sensitive nerves when they refer to the fact that the work of servicing the bases (gaming houses, restaurants, stores, laundries, etc.) represents the only source of existence for 40,000 natives and that the Americans pay about \$100 million per year in compensation for the use of the bases on Philippine territory.

The sphere of military-political relations, in which the interests of the Philippines and the USA come into conflict, is not the only one. Many problems arise as well from the United States dominance in the economic area. Although previously-signed treaties which granted the Americans the same rights as Filipinos in trading and conducting real estate transactions and in developing national resources have recently expired, this has had little effect on the positions of American business in the Philippines. Evidence of the scale of continuing U.S. penetration of the Philippine economy is provided, in particular, by the fact that of \$2 billion in foreign private investment approved in the last 10 years by the government of the Philippines, \$1.3 billion were American.

In describing the present status of Philippine-American economic relations, the same BULLETIN TODAY has written: "...The American multinational corporations continue to dominate in the economy [of the country]. Their basic interests differ from ours. We want to use foreign currency for the needs of national development. But they want to dispose of capital and income at their own discretion; they want to be able to transfer them abroad if they so desire. They are completely undisturbed by the fact that this kind of operation slows up our development. We want to rid ourselves of poverty, and they need maximum profits. And to the extent that they control production and distribution in important sectors of the economy, their activities frequently run counter to the interests of our people."

These sentiments and feelings explain those great hopes which the Filipinos had for the September 1982 visit of President F. Marcos to the USA. In Manila they were expecting that the White House would show understanding of the difficulties which the country is confronting and would extend aid to help overcome them. Alas, these hopes were not to come true. Although Reagan was generous with the flattering reassurances and public promises to take into account the interests of his "faithful friend and ally," Washington in fact promised to help the Philippines only where it was convenient for the USA--in the military area. It is perfectly obvious that that he was counting on maintaining the military bases and linking the country more closely to the implementation of the U.S. military-political plans in Southeast Asia and the Far East. However, when the discussion moved on to assistance in the resolution of economic problems, that is, to limiting the spheres of activities for the American monopolies, expanding access for Philippine export commodities to U.S. markets, the removing of U.S. protectionist limitations and on helping to obtain the means to finance development plans, the Philippine president, according to press statements, found himself up against a blind wall.

Washington has been "working on Manila" more and more of late. By using its large arsenal of military-political and economic means of pressure, the USA achieved in the fall of 1982 an agreement in principle from the Philippine government to the signing of a new five-year agreement on the bases, and the USA subsequently directed its main efforts to ensuring that the agreement was formulated in terms which were maximally advantageous for it. The American-Philippine talks on the bases, which were begun after many postponements, concluded with the signing of a memorandum. Its content has a distinct imprint of compromise. For example, at Manila's insistence, a clause was included which permits the Philippine command access to all facilities and all regions of the military bases "with the exception of top secret zones," related to so-called U.S. security interests.

The United States agreed to introduce as of 1 October of the current year a new system of tax assessment for Filipinos who work on the bases, a system which takes into account to a greater extent the interests of the 40,000 Filipinos employed there. Agreement was also reached on the establishment of a "joint committee on the bases," which would consider all controversial questions concerning the American use of the military facilities in this country. However, the more tangible and practical result of the talks was U.S. agreement to increase the amount of "compensation" from \$500 million in the current five-year plan to \$900 million in the period from 1984 through 1989.

However, on the whole the amendments introduced into the agreement are not fundamental in nature; the Americans continue to feel that they are masters on the bases and that they are free to deal with them at their own discretion.

The problems which the Philippines confront in the sphere of foreign political ties are very acute and they do not concern the United States alone.

The Philippines' relation with Japan are complex and contradictory in nature: in terms of the country's foreign trade and the amount of private investment in the Philippine economy, Japan occupies a firm second place, throwing down a challenge here to the American positions. Although the Philippine leadership nourishes well-known hopes that Japanese capital will contribute to the development of the country's economy, in general Japan's ever growing commercial-economic expansion seriously disturbs the Filipinos.

The protectionist policy which Tokyo conducts in commercial-economic relations with the Philippines and with other ASEAN countries arouses sharp criticism, primarily from business circles.

The Filipinos also manifest serious apprehensions about the revival of Japanese militarism. Having learned about it from their own experience, the Filipinos do not want a repetition of history. The president of the Philippines has noted more than once on this subject that "Japan continues to nourish the hope of domination in Asia, based at first on its economic might and subsequently by means of political and military measures."

While confronting the serious socio-political problems which have arisen largely because of the so-called "special relations" with the USA and which have led to sharp growth in nationalistic sentiments in the country and to an increase in opposition activity, the Philippine leadership is trying to find a way out of the situation by conducting a more balanced and independent course and by diversifying its foreign ties. This course undertaken by President Marcos has received noticeable development in recent years. In practice it has found expression in the Philippines' aspiration to take a new place in the system of international relations, in a gradual rejection of a unilateral orientation toward the USA and in a closer relationship with the non-aligned states, which are resolving similar tasks of national construction. At the 1979 Havana summit conference of non-aligned states the Philippines were granted observer status. It is also significant that in recent years this country has adhered to the positions of the non-aligned states on important international problems. It favors maintaining detente and ending the arms race; it has come out against colonialism, racism, etc.

Realism also manifests itself in the Philippines' policy in Southeast Asia. The Philippine government favors the resolution of the region's issues by peaceful, negotiated means rather than by military means. During the Manila visit of Nguyen Co Thach, minister of foreign affairs in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, in June of this year, the Philippine leaders came out in favor of dialogue on all unresolved problems. Both sides stated that they are united by a desire to achieve peace and stability in Southeast Asia. According to C. Romulo, the Philippines minister of foreign affairs, the significance of the visit lies in the fact that agreement has been reached between the two countries on the conduct of a continuous dialogue which may yield fruitful results for the cause of peace and security in the region.

Another important direction within the framework of this course is the development of ties with the socialist countries. What has been said above should be applied in full measure to relations between the Republic of the Philippines and the Soviet Union. In recent years stable contacts in the political area have been established between our countries. In 1982 alone, Mrs. I. Marcos, the eminent political figure and wife of the Philippine president, visited Moscow twice. She visited with



Soviet leaders and discussed the state and prospects for the development of Philippine-Soviet relations. In turn, many prominent Soviet leaders have visited the Philippines.

The 1982 visit of a delegation from the National Assembly of the Philippines to the USSR marked the beginning of inter-parliamentary ties between the countries.

In April of this year a Soviet parliamentary delegation, headed by I.P. Kalinin, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, returned the visit.

Trade is developing successfully with a volume of about \$100 million in 1982.

New directions in Soviet-Philippine cooperation were opened up by an inter-government agreement on scientific-technical cooperation, which was signed in Moscow in July of last year.

Soviet-Philippine relations, which are based on principles of non-interference and respect for each other's sovereignty are acquiring an increasingly stable and durable nature. This is in the interests of both the Soviet and the Philippine people.

The Filipinos are experiencing a difficult period now; the problems they face are not simple. And their solution undoubtedly will require the exertion of considerably more effort.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### MAY 1983 ALL-UNION ORIENTALISTS' CONFERENCE SUMMARIZED

MOSCOW AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 83, pp 40-41

[Article by L. Birchanskaya, candidate of economic sciences:  
"Forum of Orientalists"]

[Text] A quarter of a century has passed since the first all-Union meeting of Orientalists took place in Tashkent.

The Second All-Union Conference of Orientalists, which took place in May 1983 in Baku, was devoted to a discussion of current problems in Oriental studies. More than 300 scholars--political scientists, economists, historians, linguists and literary critics represented academic and university centers of Moscow, Leningrad, Kazan, Ulan -Ude, the Far East, the Central Asian and Trans-Caucasian republics. Scholars from the socialist countries also came to the conference.

K.M. Bagirov, the first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, welcomed the conference participants. He devoted a great deal of attention to the tasks which face Azerbaijani researchers concerned with the countries of the Near and Middle East--which are the main object of their study.

Academician Ye.M. Primakov, chairman of the All-Union Association of Orientalists and director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies (USSR AS IOS), presented the main report. He formulated some basic problems in present-day Soviet Oriental studies. In particular, the speaker noted the deepening specialization of Orientalists--linguists, historians, economists, literary scholars and political scientists.

Can one think that in the future Oriental studies will die as a discipline, that there will be no more Orientalists, that instead there will be historians, economists and linguists? Of course not! It is essential, the report says, for inter-disciplinary Oriental studies to be provided with a new circuit for its development.



A comprehensive approach to the study of problems in this field consists not only in cooperation among scholars of different disciplines but also in the interaction between the so-called classical and modern Oriental studies, as well as between basic and applied research. Academician Primakov emphasized that Soviet Orientalists are called upon to contribute to the further affirmation of Marxist-Leninist ideology, to communist construction in our country and to the success of the peace-loving and internationalist foreign policy of the USSR and the socialist alliance countries in general.

The speaker summarized results and analyzed the state of Soviet Oriental studies in the area of the classical cycle--linguistics, literary criticism, the culture and knowledge of Eastern peoples, as well as historical studies, which are at the junction of "classical" and "modern" Oriental studies, and he dwelt on issues related to the study of Eastern religions. Having acknowledged the significant volume of work which has been done, Ye.M. Primakov pointed to the need to continue scholarly research in these directions.

The study of contemporary problems is becoming the core of development in Soviet Oriental studies, the scholar continued. The need for studies of the international relations of the Asian and North African countries, as well as the need for predictions about the economic, social and political processes in the foreign East is dictated by the demands of life.

The conference had four working sections: socio-economic problems, political and ideological problems, philology and culture, history and source study. The 170 papers and reports presented at the conference were devoted to the past and present of the East.

A.I. Chicherov (USSR AS IOS) devoted his presentation to the political situation in Asia, Z.M. Bunyatov (Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences) devoted his to the problems of the Near and Middle East, and T.V. Gamkrelidze (Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences) spoke on a new alternative reconstruction of the Indo-European parent language.

In his report V.F. Li (USSR AS IOS) introduced for discussion by the conference participants issues related to a comprehensive typology of the party-political structures of the East. The growing role of the intensively developing parties and political factions is one of the most characteristic features of present-day social development on the continent. The study of this timely problem makes it possible to single out a number of basic criteria for a typology of political parties, taking into account, social, functional, political-cultural and other parameters.

In the author's opinion, this kind of typology makes it possible to determine more accurately the place of the parties in the party-political hierarchy of a transitional society, as well to obtain a more thorough idea about the nature of the diverse inter-party coalitions and blocs. It contributes to the expansion of the theoretical base for the future, intensified study of problems related to the genesis, formation and evolution of party-political systems and their role in social transformations, especially at pre-socialistic and early-socialistic phases of development.

In examining the problem of religion's influence on the ideological-political struggle in the development Asian and African countries, L.R. Polonskaya (USSR AS IOS) noted that in the 70's the ruling regimes, in their search for a way out of structural crisis and political instability, began to create national models of development, which called for attention to be given to traditional religious institutions. For example, the modernization of society (unexpectedly, at first glance) has led to a strengthening of religion's influence on politics. This influence is far from being the same in individual groups of countries. The basic differences between the ideological currents are determined not so much by the confessional nature of the faith as by social features: by the nature of power and the socio-political orientation of the regime. The speaker emphasized that present-day religious ideologies are, as a rule, nationalistic in nature.

Theories which are called upon to provide support--by means of religious traditions--for the ideas of the "middle" path of development are receiving ever broader dissemination. Directed toward the traditional ideals of collectivism and solidarity, these teachings are oriented primarily toward the protection of the interests of small property owners. At the same time they also respond to the desire for social justice on the part of the nonproletarian laboring strata, which are being drawn into politics to an ever greater extent. In general both anti-imperialist as well as anticommunist tendencies are characteristic (in different proportions) of the religious concepts of the 70's.

A.R. Davidson (USSR AS IOS) directed the attention of those participating in the discussion to the ever increasing significance of national problems in the political and social life of the countries in the foreign East, as well as to the very complex problem of relations between peoples and segments of divided peoples who find themselves living within common boundaries after former colonies are declared to be sovereign states. As experience testifies, in a number of countries social policy is conducted in the interests of that ethnic group to which the people who occupy the leading posts belong. Ethno-social

relations play an enormous role in the development of the system of relations between states in Asia and Africa. All this makes it possible for the imperialist powers and reactionary regimes within the Afro-Asian world, the speaker concludes, to utilize the ethno-national problems of peoples on the liberated continent in world and regional politics.

This theme was the subject of a paper by a group of Tbilisi scholars, including O. Chichineishvili, G. Chipashvili and others (Georgian SSR AS IOS), who analyzed the national-ethnic processes in the countries of the Near and Middle East. Using the history of the Ottoman Empire as an example, they traced two stages in the development of the national question--before and after the first world war, when Turkish and Arab nations appeared with the decline of the Moslem community. The national states which formed in the Near East (Turkey, the Arab countries and others) are poly-ethnic in nature, but in them power proved to be in the hands of the ethno-national group, the language and culture of which become the predominant one in the country. The consolidation of other ethnic groups into nations contributed to the formation of multi-national states in the Near East. However, despite this, the ruling regimes in a majority of Near Eastern countries do not recognize the existence of national and ethnic minorities; they are attempting to create a concept of a single and indivisible nation. The imperialist states, the speaker noted, support--for their own purposes--an assimilation policy, which is aimed against national, ethnic and religious minorities.

In the course of discussions on political and ideological questions, the scholars exchanged views on the problems of the anti-imperialist, liberation and revolutionary struggle in Afghanistan, Iran, Lebanon and other Eastern countries (V.S.Korgun, USSR AS IOS; R. Ya. Aliyev, A.A. Amin-zade, Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences; Sh.Kh. Tgoyan, Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences and others), and they examined the contradictions which are characteristic of bourgeois modernization, the structure forming functions of the state, political culture and socio-political development in the transitional societies (A.V. Meliksetov, Moscow State Institute of International Relations of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs; I.B. Red'ko, USSR AS IOS; Ye.A. Birgauz, Institute of World Economics and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences; N.O. Oganesyan, USSR AS IOS and others).

Another group of present-day problems which were also widely discussed at the conference concerned the results and perspectives on the socio-economic development of the Eastern countries in the 60's and the 70's.

A basic theme in the paper presented by G.K. Shirokov (USSR AS IOS) was an analysis of the factors which accelerated the

development of forms of national capitalism in the Eastern countries. Among the factors promoting the formation of the capitalist sector he includes the socio-economic reforms contributed to the bourgeoisification of the traditional exploiting classes and the expansion of those functions of the state, which gave rise to a new stratum of the national bourgeoisie--the bureaucratic bourgeoisie--and which helped to accelerate the development of capitalism "from below," as well as the creation of mixed companies.

At present the economies of the Eastern countries have two sectors: modern and traditional, which differ in the nature of their productive forces and their production relations, as well as in the extreme weakness of the reproductive ties between them. Moreover, G.K. Shirokov thinks that as a formationally identical type of capitalist complex is developed, interest in the transformation of the traditional sector declines.

The report took note of changes in the alignment of economic and social functions of the Eastern states, as well as the strengthening of their differentiation. Particular attention was devoted to the influence of imperialism's structural and cyclical crises on the developing countries.

A.I. Dinkevich (USSR AS IOS) devoted his presentation to strategies for development and the prospects of economic growth. An analysis of these strategies at the international, regional and national levels provides evidence, in the scholar's opinion, of the fact that despite a number of positive approaches, they lack the basic principles which, if followed, ensure success. For example, the chosen goals and tasks must be in line with the means and methods to realize them. In other words, in order for the mechanism to function effectively, economic and social conditions, both external and internal, must contribute to this process. An analysis of the specific parameters of growth shows that the preliminary outlines of development strategies in many cases are far from reality. The paper shows in detail the factors which make the elimination of economic backwardness and the economic modernization of the developing countries completely possible. The resolution of this problem is related to both material and social conditions.

R.N. Andreasyan (USSR AS IOS) dwelt on the role of the energy aspect in the development strategy. He used material with facts and numbers to show that acute dependence on oil imports will continue to be a fact for a majority of the young states for a long time to come. It is true, R.N. Andreasyan adds, that the prospects for the development of national energy industries in various countries are not the same. The number of countries in which domestic oil and gas resources are being rapidly developed



(India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, National Democratic Republic of Yemen and others) is growing. However, the shortage of local energy resources remains a serious brake on their development. The situation is aggravated by the fact that the proportion of petroleum in the energy consumption of the developing countries is substantially greater than it is for the developed capitalist countries.

Another important aspect of development strategy--the contradictions in the multi-structural economy--was analyzed by V.G. Rastyannikov (USSR AS IOS). The resolution of these contradictions depends on both internal as well as external factors. They include balanced economic growth, increases in the role of reciprocal ties through the development of the domestic market, the stabilization of the socio-political situation and others.

A number of papers considered the timely questions of the USSR's economic and technical cooperation with the liberated countries. For example, V.P. Chichkanov and N.L. Shlyk (Far Eastern Scientific Center of the USSR Academy of Sciences) discussed the commercial-economic cooperation of the Soviet Far East with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the developing countries of the Pacific; he emphasized the equitable and mutually advantageous nature of this cooperation. A significant number of the papers were devoted to studies of the socio-economic problems related to the development of particular countries in the foreign East: China (G.D. Sukharchuk, USSR AS IOS), Algeria (L.A. Fridman and V.A. Mel'yantsev, Moscow State University ISAA [Institute of Countries of Asia and Africa]); the African countries of the Southern Sahara (L.V. Goncharov, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Africa); Turkey (Yu. Balazh, Institute of World Economics, Hungarian People's Republic).

The Second All-Union Conference of Orientalists confirmed the increased attention which Soviet scholars are giving to the key tasks of Oriental studies.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### SYRIAN POLITICAL UNREST SEEN IN CONTEXT OF CONFRONTATION WITH ISRAEL

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 83 pp 8-11

[Article by V. Belyakov, candidate of historical sciences, "Syria's Two Fronts"]

[Text] Damascus--Moscow--It is not far from Damascus to al-Qunaytirah. An hour's drive by car, and a shrapnel-speckled sign comes into sight on the right-hand side of the road informing us in Arabic and English that we are entering the biggest city on the Golan Heights. A hundred meters beyond the sign is a police roadblock. The sergeant checks our papers and notes down the car registration number. "You can pass!" Two to three more minutes and we are in the city center.

Al-Qunaytirah's fate is identical with that of Khatyn in Belorussia, Ledice in Czechoslovakia, and Oradour in France. In June 1968 during the aggression against Egypt, Syria and Jordan, Israeli troops captured the Golan Heights. For seven long years the night of occupation descended on the city with its 25,000 inhabitants. After the October 1973 war, when the Arabs dispersed the myth about the "invincibility" of the Israeli Army, the latter was forced to cede part of the Golan Heights, including al-Qunaytirah. But what had the occupation forces done to the city! We see before us nothing but ruins. Not a single house intact, not a single inhabitant...Years have passed, but al-Qunaytirah's ruins remain a symbol of the Zionist invaders' crimes, an angry indictment of those who support them.

We drive down the main street in silence. On the outskirts the road veers to the right and we come to another Syrian post. A roadblock. That is all. Only UN observers can go on from here. Beyond the roadblock the Israeli occupation forces still hold sway. They have not the least intention of giving back the Golan Heights to their legitimate owner--Syria. On 14 December 1981 the Israeli Knesset adopted a decision on the de facto annexation of the Golan Heights. It adopted this decision in contradiction to international law which bans the acquisition of territory by means of force. It adopted it despite unanimous, energetic

protests on the part of the Syrian local inhabitants. Incidentally, during the years of the Israeli occupation, the number of Israeli settlers has increased to almost match the number of Arabs here. One of the Israeli settlements and land which has belonged to the Arabs from time immemorial are clearly visible from the outskirts of al-Qunaytirah. The colonizers are plowing other people's land a mere 300 meters from where we are standing. From the adjacent field comes the steady hum of the irrigation installation in action. The sun's rays are sparkling in the spray. Behind the field is a high hill. On it the occupation forces have set up a powerful tracking station which can monitor all movements almost up to Damascus itself.

A white UN jeep arrives at the roadblock. A bearded officer--it emerges that he is Austrian--presents his papers. The UN troops' post is the "neutral strip," slightly nearer to the Israeli military post. But what has happened to that building which we had grown used to seeing, the building on whose roof the flag with the Star of David used to fly? Instead, near the place where it used to be, a double archway in the shape of the letter "m" straddles the road. So that is what it is! After the annexation of the Golan Heights, the Zionists decided that the ceasefire line is now their state border and they replaced the military post with a customs office. Large coils of barbed wire extend to either side of it. Barbed wire which is digging into Syrian soil day after day, hour after hour, and minute after minute for the 17th year. The barbed wire painfully wounds not only that soil but also every Syrian's heart: part of his motherland has been seized, the enemy is only 60 km from Damascus.

In the summer of 1982 the Israeli troops succeeded in getting even nearer to the Syrian capital. The aggressors, their hands stained with the blood of peaceful Lebanese and Palestinian inhabitants, now command positions in the Anti-Lebanon mountain range along which the Syrian-Lebanese border runs.

Strong political pressure is being brought to bear on Syria by the United States, the inspirer of the Israeli expansionists and the initiator of the "peace agreement" which Lebanon concluded with them at gunpoint. The aim of the pressure is to force Syria to recognize this one-sided agreement, and to ensure that Syria evacuates its contingents from the inter-Arab peacekeeping force in Lebanon before the occupation forces leave there. Israel is engaged in intensive preparations in the al-Biqa' Valley, making no secret of the fact that should the U.S. policy of blackmail and pressure fail, Israel is ready for aggression against Syria. According to reports in the Arab press, the Israeli generals are planning to strike out from the al-Biqa Valley eastward in the direction of Damascus, and northward in the direction of the city of Homs, a major industrial center.

The threat of Israeli aggression against Syria cannot, of course, fail to leave its mark on the country's life. When approaching Damascus from Lebanon's al-Eiqa' Valley, you notice time and again fortified Syrian Army positions along the highway and tanks dug into the ground, their barrels trained southwestward. There are almost as many military vehicles as civilian ones on the road. In the capital itself there are more people in military uniform than is usual. True, Damascus remains a throbbing and colorful city. But in the outskirts and in the area of the international airport antiaircraft guns have appeared. And Syrians, as usual sitting in the evenings in cozy little restaurants with a cup of good strong coffee in front of them, are returning ever more frequently in their conversations to the situation in the Near East which has again--for the umpteenth time--become aggravated through the fault of the imperialists and Zionists.

In the restaurant of the Omayyad hotel it is cool and half-dark. Almost all places are occupied. Two young men join my table. Having ordered, they light up and begin a lively conversation. The topic of their discussion is--will Israel dare to attack Syria? The man sitting opposite me, fair-haired with a high forehead, turns to me: "And what is your view of this?" I do not want to inflict my opinion on them, it would be more interesting to hear what the Syrians themselves will say. I answer evasively that anything could happen where the Zionists are concerned. "Nonetheless," the other man, dark-eyed and dark-haired, says, "Syria is a hard nut to crack. Last year I was called up from the reserve into the Army and I served several months in the al-Eiqa' Valley. I saw with my own eyes: The enemy has to pay dearly for his provocations! Our soldiers know what they are fighting for--for their own country and its honor. Moreover, the Soviet arms with which our Army is equipped are in no way inferior to the U.S. weapons. So that if Israel stirs it up again, it will not be Arab mothers alone who will mourn their killed sons," he concluded. This sort of view, expressed in different ways, probably predominates in Syria at present.

Naturally, the strengthening of the country's defense capability is in the center of the Syrian leadership's activities today. Addressing a group of religious figures in June 1983, President Hafiz Al-Asad said: "We want to live in peace and tranquility, we want peace for our children, we want the vast sums which we are spending on defense to go toward the construction of plants and schools. But while the danger prevails we must think about what might happen tomorrow. In conditions where the Israeli aggressor is within 23-24 km of Damascus, Syria cannot but be concerned about its defense capability," Hafiz Al-Asad emphasized.

Let's face it, the need to spend enormous sums of money on defense over a long period of time is hampering the solution of economic and social tasks including some very vital ones.

Production capacities in industry are increasing only slowly. There is a shortage of schools, hospitals and kindergartens. The housing problem is far from solved. Despite the government's efforts, prices are rising faster than the working people's wages. Hundreds of thousands of Syrians still cannot read and write. In many villages, especially the small and remote ones, there is no electricity. And although after the nationalizations of 1965 there is no financial or big industrial bourgeoisie in the country, the middle entrepreneurial bourgeoisie continues not only to function but to grow richer. There are even millionaires and their number is increasing.

The constant military and political pressure exerted by imperialism and Zionism is hampering Syria's development. Nonetheless Syria rejects the U.S.-Israeli plans for a "settlement" in the Near East which, if implemented, would be equivalent to the establishment of Zionist-imperialist rule in that region. Syria has resolutely denounced both the notorious Camp David deal and the "Reagan Plan" which was based on it.

In recent years imperialists have actually opened a second front against Syria--a home front. Relying on local reactionary forces, they are attempting to undermine the Syrian regime from within. Various means are being used to this end. One of them is to fuel religious strife. The point is that most Syrians are believers of whom 80 percent belong to the Sunni sect of Islam, approximately 10 percent are Alawites and Druze belonging to Shi'ite sects, and the remainder are Christians. And since the family of President H. Al-Asad belongs to the Alawite community, the reactionaries' attempts to play off the Alawites and Sunnis against each other are clearly antigovernment in character. And what is more, the inciters make no secret of this, declaring that it is no good for an Alawite to head a predominantly Sunni country, as they put it.

Another lever used by imperialism and Zionism to exert pressure is the reactionary Muslim Brotherhood organization. It has been in existence for several decades in the Near East. Its top echelons are made up of former feudal landowners, the parasitic bourgeoisie, and the most conservative section of the Muslim clergy, while its rank and file is rather motley in character. It includes people broken by life who are therefore prepared to stop at nothing, fanatic believers who have been misled by their spiritual "leaders" and ordinary criminals. The ringleaders of the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood have found a refuge in the FRQ.

The Syrian reactionary forces have their own grudges against the regime. Restrictions on the activities of big capital, the agrarian reform, the struggle against the vestiges of feudalism, the anti-imperialist foreign policy, and the course toward cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist states--all this



has been evoking the Muslim Brotherhood's hatred for a long time. However, lacking support among the masses, the reactionary forces were gritting their teeth in the underground for the time being. After the conclusion of the Camp David deal in 1978, the imperialist circles decided to use the Muslim Brotherhood for their own purposes and lavished money and weapons on it, and the latter realized that its time to act had come.

The signal for open armed opposition to the regime was the attack in the summer of 1979 on the artillery training college at Aleppo, Syria's second largest city. Several dozen students were killed or wounded. Arson attacks on stores and schools and killings of party and public figures and representatives of the intelligentsia and the clergy who supported the government's course followed. In a number of cities the Muslim Brotherhood succeeded in involving major tradesmen in the disturbances, exploiting their dissatisfaction with the 1980 decree which brought in imprisonment for arbitrary price increases. The Brotherhood was most active in Aleppo and also in Hama, a city known for its inhabitants' especial fidelity to Muslim traditions. In order to put an end to the Muslim Brotherhood's thuggish excesses, the government had to resort to resolute actions in which public organizations played an important role.

"If you want to know how the liquidation of the nests of the Muslim Brotherhood is proceeding ask As'ad Rashwani, the chief editor of the Aleppo newspaper AL-JAMAHIR AL-'ARABIYAH," I was told in Damascus. "He is up-to-date with all that is happening."

Rashwani was not at the editorial office. "He has gone to the security headquarters," one of his colleagues told me over the phone.

Ten minutes later I arrived at the gate of a small detached house in a quiet alley. While I was explaining to the security guard who I was and why I had come, an automobile arrived at the gate. Four men in civilian clothes got out, followed reluctantly by an unshaven character. The security service personnel unloaded a whole pile of odd kinds of bags, packages, and containers from the trunk, and all five of them disappeared into the headquarters building. I followed them in. Rashwani welcomed me in the reception-room. "Well, we have just picked up another one. He is their pyrotechnics expert."

The guy stood there, head bowed, while the personnel arranged their trophies, including parts of an explosive device, on the table. I asked permission to have a chat with the arrested guy.

"What is your name?"

("MUSTAFA Battykh")



"Why did you join the Muslim Brotherhood?"

"When I joined the organization I had no idea that it was a gang of murderers and traitors of their own people. When I found out, I wanted to run away from the city, but I could not--I was arrested."

"But you understand, don't you, on whose side the Brotherhood is?"

"Yes," (Battykh) replied, his head hanging down even further, "They are allied with the imperialists and Syria's enemies..."

The struggle against the terrorists was long and difficult. But on the whole it has been successfully completed. "The Muslim Brotherhood as an organization has been completely crushed on Syrian territory," Syrian information minister Ahmad Iskandar Ahmad says, "Although this does not preclude the actions of individual saboteurs, most of them especially infiltrated from abroad."

Analyzing the actions of the reactionary forces egged on from abroad, the Fifth Congress of the Syrian Communist party, which was held at the end of May 1980 in Damascus, noted that the workers, peasants, and the patriotic intelligentsia did not take part in the disturbances. This is clear proof of the antipopular essence of the Muslim Brotherhood's activities. At the same time, the Congress stressed that U.S. imperialism, Zionism, and Arab reactionary forces will not abandon their plans to continue to collude against courageous Syria. "Our battle," Khalid Bakdash, secretary general of the Syrian Communist Party Central Committee, stated in his report to the Congress, "makes it necessary to strike out at the socio-economic and political positions of the reactionary forces and primarily those of the parasitic bourgeoisie. Our battle demands that constant and persistent attention be paid to the interests of the working people."

"The struggle which we are waging calls for strengthened friendship and cooperation ties with the countries of the socialist community and primarily with their vanguard--the sincere, loyal, and great friend, the Soviet Union."

The tasks of strengthening relations with the Soviet Union and of the struggle against the forces of imperialism, Zionism, and reaction are classed as of equal importance by the Syrian communists. These tasks are closely interconnected. It is no accident that in order to weaken the country, Syria's enemies are attempting to undermine its relations with the USSR. To achieve this, no stone is left unturned and all means are considered suitable, from slanderous allegations that Syria "has entered

Moscow's orbit" to verbiage about the alleged ineffectiveness of Soviet assistance. At the height of the Muslim Brotherhood's excesses, attacks on Soviet institutions and on individual specialists were quite frequent, too. However, all these actions are inevitably doomed to failure. Syrian-Soviet relations are developing stably on the basis of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, signed 8 October 1980. The Soviet Union is giving Syria multifaceted assistance in the economic and other spheres.

"Welcome to the city of Ath-Thawrah!"--a road sign reads. It means that we have reached our destination. Ath-Thawrah, the city of the Syrian power workers, is situated near the famous Euphrates dam--the flagship of Soviet-Syrian economic cooperation. Even 15 years ago or so, there was a lifeless desert here which was not exactly livened up by the mud huts of the God-forsaken township of Tabaqah. Many of them are still intact, and against this background the grandeur of what the Syrian and Soviet construction workers have accomplished is particularly impressive.

A great deal has been written about the hydroelectric complex on the Euphrates and nevertheless, I am convinced, much more will still be written, since its importance in the economic and social life of present-day Syria is exceptionally great and continues to increase. Judge for yourselves. The power station, which has a capacity of 800,000 kilowatts, produces up to 70 percent of the electricity used in this country, so that it is simply no longer possible to imagine Syria's national economy without the Euphrates GES. The huge artificial lake named for President Al-Asad is a reliable source of water for field irrigation. It can provide sufficient water to irrigate 640,000 hectares of arid land! A network of high-voltage power transmission lines with a total length of 2,600 km is being built in the country with USSR assistance, and three-fourths of this network are already in service. A socially important task is currently being solved: to supply electricity to all the country's population centers with more than 100 inhabitants by the end of 1985. During the construction of the Euphrates hydroelectric power station several thousand local specialists in various fields have been trained. Near the dam is a city with a population of 50,000 inhabitants which bears the proud name of Ath-Thawrah--revolution, that is, a city which is the embodiment of the Syrians' dream of the future. Bright buildings with comfortable apartments, schools, kindergartens and general clinics. Much greenery and flowers. There is a stadium, a cultural center and a cinema. The city was planned comprehensively, taking into account all the modern man's needs. This is new in Syria.

Although the construction project on the Euphrates was completed as long ago as the spring of 1978, a small group of Soviet consultants continues to work in Ath-Thawrah--they are power workers and land improvement workers. They are passing their own

experience on to their Syrian colleagues. In the House of Syrian-Soviet Friendship I met Qhazi 'Amarah, member of the Euphrates complex trade union committee. "Our complex," he said, "is an example of the assistance rendered to the Arab peoples by the Soviet Union. I have been working hand-in-hand with Soviet specialists for many years and I have made close friends. They set us an example of selfless work. Like all Syrians I want the friendship with the Soviet Union to grow stronger and stronger."

The complex on the Euphrates is the most important, but by no means the only project of Soviet-Syrian economic cooperation, which has now been developing for more than a quarter century with an upward trend. There are almost 70 such projects, of which more than half have already been commissioned, and all are in sectors of key importance for the country's industrialization, the strengthening of its economic independence, and the solution of social tasks. They include the power industry, oil extraction, land improvement, transport construction and the training of cadres.

Syria is the only Arab country whose oil deposits have never been plundered by imperialist monopolies. The prospecting for and extraction of oil were put under government control from the beginning. And although Syria is not quite so rich in the "black gold" as, say, neighboring Iraq, it is able today, thanks to substantial assistance from the Soviet Union, not only to meet its own demand for oil products, but also to export oil. The exploration of gas deposits in the northwest of the country, carried out with the participation of Soviet specialists, produced promising results. In the same area a big dam is under construction on the northern al-Kabir river. The fertile but arid land in the Maskanah massif is being reclaimed. New railroads are being constructed and old ones reconstructed.

Nasim dib, chief of the Homs--Damascus railroad construction project, was visibly agitated. In a few minutes time the last meters of track were to be laid on the outskirts of the Syrian capital and the final join was to be made. A great deal of difficult work lay behind. It was not the length of the railroad line--208 km in all--but the fact that it had to be laid through hilly desert terrain which made it really hard work. In some places rocks had to be removed with explosives, in others high embankments had to be built. There are many bridges, overpasses and other engineering structures along the line. It had even been necessary to construct a special plant for the production of ferroconcrete components.

The track-laying machine advances unhurriedly. The construction workers wearing the traditional Arab headdress--the kuffiyah--are bolting down section after section. And now--the moment of triumph! The final join! Faces lit up with joy, the thunder of

applause. Soviet and Syrian specialists have their photograph taken together as a souvenir.

"At last!" Nasim Dib says with relief. "Damascus is now linked with the important port of Tartus. When we finish the reconstruction of the Homs--Aleppo line, the capital will be linked with the northeast from where grain and oil will be supplied."

"This means more work for me," Mikhayil Jirjis, chief of Syrian railroad shipments who has come up to us, says with a smile, "Pleasant work, incidentally."

We are speaking in Russian. Both Nasim and Mikhayil graduated from Soviet VUZ's. With the USSR's assistance a total of 34,000 Syrian workers, engineers and technicians have been trained.

The people of Syria are waging a hard struggle for their future, against imperialism and Zionism which dream of bringing the country to its knees, and against the internal reactionary forces which attempt to reverse the course of history. The Syrians' desire to see their motherland free, confidently looking into the future, is unfailing, as is the assistance rendered to them in this just struggle by the Soviet Union.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### POLONSKAYA BOOK ON ALTERNATIVE THIRD-WORLD IDEOLOGIES REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 83 p 62

[Review by V. Sumskiy of book "Vostok: idei i ideologii (kritika burzhuaiznykh i melkoburzhuaiznykh kontseptsiiy 'tret'yego puti' razvitiya)" [The East: Ideas and Ideologies (Criticism of Bourgeois and Petty Bourgeois Concepts of the "Third Path" of Development)] by L.R. Polonskaya and A.Kh. Vafa, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka", Moscow, 1982, 256 pages: "Criticism of the 'Third Path' Theories"]

[Text] The authors of this book bring together a wealth of material about the ideologies of the present-day East, but at the same time they attempt not to lose sight of the specific features of particular ideological currents. The composition of the monograph arises from this: in the first part a typology of non-Marxist currents in the social thought of the foreign East is proposed, the problem of religious traditions as perceived by adherents of the "third path" is posed and the distinguishing features of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas about the "third path" are revealed. In the second part "portraits" are given of such ideologues and political figures as J. Nehru, M. Ikbal, M. Rakhman, F. Marcos and M. Qadhafi.

While devoting a great deal of attention to criticism of the "third path" concepts, the authors of the work by no means ignore the fact that these concepts have arisen from a whole set of objective preconditions. L.R. Polonskaya and A.Kh. Vafa emphasize that in our times ideas about the possibility of Asia and Africa developing a special formation distinct from capitalism and socialism is a legitimate consequence of the multi-structured nature of Eastern societies and their characteristic need for a simultaneous solution of general-democratic tasks and the intensification of social transformations in the interests of the popular masses. Non-proletarian social groups and strata in the liberated countries, with their natural belief in the undoubted value of everything that is "nationally distinctive," are attempting in one way or another to comprehend the conversion of real socialism into the most important factor in world



development. In the course of this kind of interpretation there frequently arise "ideas about the need to combine traditional (feudal, tribal, etc.) institutions with modern ones, religious ones with worldly ones, bourgeois institutions with anti-bourgeois ones" (p 241); numerous concepts of "national" and "religious socialisms," "national alternatives" of democracy and social revolutions of a special type are developed.

In their analysis of these ideological constructs, the authors of this work ask primarily about which social groups have their interests served by any given concept, what kind of function (that is, blocking profound social changes or contributing to them) is imposed on the respective doctrine by its creators, and whether the progressive, anti-imperialist potential of a given doctrine is sufficiently great or is already exhausted to a significant degree. The authors divide the "third path" concepts into bourgeois-conservative (for example, the official ideologies of the dictatorial regime in South Korea, Iran under the Shah, the dictates of the "Svatantra" party in India), bourgeois-liberal (including ideas put forward by Indira Gandhi, Z.A. Bhutto) and petty bourgeois (concepts of G. P. Narayan and F. Fanon and others). After noting that in the spiritual life of Eastern societies the lack of clear boundaries between basic social groups is a feature which one often sees reflected, the authors use a number of specific examples to show the interweaving and mutual penetration of bourgeois and petty bourgeois directions. Much attention has been devoted to the problem of how revolutionary democrats can overcome petty bourgeois ideas about the "third path."

The researchers conclude that the "third path" slogans cannot be given an identical assessment at the present stage of the Asian and African countries' development. The main question is: what goals are being pursued by the forces which use these slogans? In those cases in which liberation, general democratic and anticapitalist ideas are moving to the forefront, the "third path" slogans can contribute to the unleashing of an anti-imperialist movement to strengthen the national state system, and this objectively favors the emergence of elements of noncapitalist development. In those cases in which the bourgeois interests and anticommunist tendencies characteristic of the "third path" ideologues are coming to the forefront, these slogans become the banner of counterrevolution (p 242).

A number of issues raised in this work are controversial in nature. For example, is it correct to define leaders, who are distinguished by an obvious inclination to use authoritarian methods in politics (Z.A. Bhutto, M. Rakhman) as the bearers of bourgeois-liberal viewpoints on the "third path?" What has prevailed, what was external and what was essential in the "synthesis of authoritarian political methods and the methods of the

parliamentary democratic game," which, the authors themselves acknowledge, these politicians and ideologues were trying to implement? In the reviewer's opinion, these problems deserve further consideration and discussion.

These individual critical remarks should not, however, lower the general impression of the monograph as a thorough, conceptually well thought-out work, which contains a number of valuable generalizations.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### IDEOLOGICAL OPPONENTS REFUTED ON NATURE OF SOVIET DEMOCRACY

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 6 Jan 84 pp 1-10

[Article by E. Kuz'min under the rubric "Questions of Theory": "Real Democracy, Real Humanism"]

[Text] In our times, the merits and demerits of a social order or of any political system are judged, in the long run, by how far they meet the basic interests and aspirations of the working masses. Viewed from the standpoint of this historically-vindicated approach and the solely scientific criteria, it is Socialism that stands for the whole world to see as an order of consistent democracy and humanism, one offering to man real opportunities for his civil evolution, well being and happiness.

#### I

The Constitution of the USSR, adopted in 1977 following a nationwide approval, provided the legal framework for the continued extension and refinement of socialist democracy. The forms enshrined in it for the working people's participation in the administration of public and social affairs and production have nothing to match them in the world's political practice in terms of their diversity and coverage and their actual impact on national development.

"People who know of no other power over them but the power of their own unity is an idea of Marx, Engels and Lenin that is implemented in the activity of the Soviets, combining legislation, management and control," Yuri Andropov has pointed out. "It is manifested in the work of trade unions and other organisations of the people, in the life of work collectives, and in the development of the entire political system of our society."

The consistently democratic character of the operation of the most representative bodies of our people's government--the Soviets of People's Deputies--is largely determined by the principles of their formation. "The more direct influence of the working masses on state structure and administration--i.e., a higher form of democracy--is also effected under the Soviet type of state," V.I. Lenin wrote, "first, by the electoral procedure and the possibility of holding elections more frequently, and also by conditions for re-election and for the recall of Deputies which are simpler and more comprehensible to the urban and rural workers than is the case under the best forms of bourgeois democracy" (Coll. Works, Vol. 29, pp. 107-108).

The Communist Party has always regarded elections as a mode of exercising the citizen's major right--that of actually influencing the processes occurring in the community. Election campaigns are an occasion for reviewing the performance achieved and having the current objectives of economic and cultural development thoroughly considered by the people as a whole. The CPSU Central Committee Resolution, adopted after a review of the tasks the Party organisations are to accomplish by way of preparation for the election of the 11th Supreme Soviet of the USSR, expressed the firm conviction that the coming election would furnish fresh conclusive evidence of truly popular government in this country and of the close-knit unity of the entire Soviet people behind the Party of the great Lenin and their loyalty to Communist ideals.

An election campaign, organisation and holding of elections are something that requires an imaginative approach and tolerates no cut-and-dried patterns. The consistently democratic and fair procedure prescribed by the law for the formation of electoral constituencies and commissions, the nomination of candidates, the drawing up of the lists of voters and, finally, the very organisation of the voting are all designed to assure everyone (let me note, in passing, that the actual turnout in all of this country's elections ever since 1939 has exceeded 99 percent of the electorate) the fullest-ever opportunity to express his will. In consequence, it is the persons held in the highest esteem, enjoying the confidence of all they work with, having the necessary experience and capable of discharging challenging powers properly and competently that are chosen to represent the people in the institutions of government. Now isn't that the best possible indication of the effectiveness of real, working democracy which has the service of working men as its top priority!

Today, the Soviets, comprising as they do 2.3 million Deputies and a more than 30-million strong contingent of part-time assistants, are giving special attention to the all-round improvement of the substance and quality of the work they do. There is a variety of factors contributing to that, such as the legislative confirmation of the increased powers of the Soviets and consolidation of their material and financial base (the local budgets, for example, have doubled in the last 15 years and exceed 50,000 million rubles today), and increased efficiency and effect of such democratic forms as sessions, deliberations of standing commissions, interpellations from Deputies, or voters' mandates. To sum it up, conditions have been created for the advantages of the socialist representative system to be turned to the best possible account. An object of top priority today is to keep building up the actual contribution of the representative bodies towards integrated area-by-area development, fulfillment of the Food and Energy Programmes, consumer goods production, school reform, and the promotion of the rule of law, order and discipline. In other words, the task in hand is to enhance the role of the Soviets, free from any departmentalist tendencies, in the fulfilment of the major economic and organising function of the socialist State.

Experience indicates that democracy is real only when it assures the working people an opportunity to share in running production, fundamental human activity. Conversely, it is a hollow phrase unless it covers the environment in which man works every day and demonstrates his creative powers. That is one of the main watersheds separating socialist democracy from nominal bourgeois democracy.



Actions to enforce the Party's economic strategy and upgrade national economic management are closely bound up with the furtherance of democracy. The Party sees the rising creative initiative of the working people as a key to the increasingly effective exploitation of the advantages of socialism and of economic planning. And it is natural that such aspects of economic performance as higher productivity, better quality of output and lower production cost are the best where the working people play their full part in the running of production and where public opinion is brought out and taken into account in full measure.

Not a single issue affecting man's working life, social welfare or everyday life is settled at plants or factories without trade unions. These are the organisers of the socialist emulation movement and of the propagation of advanced know-how. They supervise the work of standing production conferences, the National Society of Inventors and Rationalisers, and scientific and technological associations. They have a special part to play in protecting the rights and interests of the working people. They have great powers to do that. For example, the operation of 180 enterprises and three thousand shops was suspended and 9,800 business executives replaced in 1982, at the instance of trade unions, for violations of safety standards.

The enactment of the Law on Work Collectives (Collective Labour Relations Act) was an important step forward in promoting the application of democratic principles at the point of production. It contains a series of new provisions enlarging their rights, above all, as far as management is concerned. It is necessary for this Act to be fully operational to achieve its major objective of promoting the enterprising and resourceful activities of the masses. Such enterprising activities are potentially very productive. Yuri Andropov, in his article "The Teaching of Karl Marx and Some Questions of Building Socialism in the USSR," laid particular emphasis on the principle of cost-accounting team-work, a primary form of industrial management discovered at grass-roots level. Now, the teams comprise over half the industrial workers, and are a widespread practice in building, farming, and other sectors of the economy.

Neighbourhood and village meetings have become yet another standing practice. These are called for a constructive full-scale discussion of economic activity, provision of amenities, operation of recreational and cultural institutions, service industries, and the maintenance of public order. Concern for the common cause and for the development of production, collation of opinions, frank and consistent criticism and self-criticism, enhancement of every citizen's social and political activities make up, as stated at the 26th Congress of the CPSU, the essence of Soviet democracy as working and active democracy. The resolutions of the Congress and of the subsequent Plenary Meetings of the CPSU Central Committee set the trade unions, the Komsomol, the cooperatives, professional and other associations and societies of the working people thinking of how to extend their influence on the masses and their involvement in government affairs.

The citizens' right of criticism is a major and constantly advanced form of their actual involvement in management. One may well say that it is criticism that operates as an indispensable driving force of progress in the context



of Socialism where there is no class struggle, and a means of bringing out and resolving the contradictions existing in the community and removing shortcomings. What this implies is not, of course, any abstract "dissidence" in the spirit of customary notions of "boundless" bourgeois democracy, nor an impassionately-Philistine, let alone gloating registration of facts, but a constructive and consistent reaction to negative features in our life with a view to eliminating them as soon as possible.

Actual experience, the very course of life irrefutably prove that just as democracy is impossible without Socialism, Socialism is impossible without the consistent development of democracy. Moreover the level of democracy acts under Socialism as a measure of the community's political, economic and cultural maturity, while its continued refinement is one of the key ways to upgrade developed Socialism.

It goes without saying that socialist democracy in its concrete forms is not an ideal system developed to perfection. Such a metaphysical approach is foreign to Communists. The Party is persistently striving for improvements in the performance of managerial staffs, unequivocal elimination of all practices of bureaucratic excessive organisation and formalism, that is, of everything that stultifies and undermines the initiative of the masses and fetters their creative thinking. It is necessary to declare a full-scale war on such a practice, it was said at the June 1983 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, when democratic principles and guidelines have no acts to match them and when there is nothing in evidence beyond pure form or window-dressing. There are quite a few potentialities to tap to upgrade the democratic procedure of decision-making as regards major aspects of public and social life, to improve accountability of business executives, to provide more information for the public and to give more publicity to the work done.

In short, what is required is that the impressive quantitative performance attesting to the level of socialist democracy (to judge by it, we do move forward, step by step, towards resolving the problem of transition from large-scale to full-scale involvement of all citizens in administration) should naturally develop into qualitative performance. The major indication in this respect is that of increased efficiency, rising social value of all forms of people's government and their utmost exploitation to achieve the actual targets of building a Communist society.

## 2.

The achievements of Socialism and triumph of the people's government are arousing the impotent malice of our ideological opponents, and bringing streams of lies and slander against the Soviet political system. It is with particular zeal that the trumpeters of anti-Communism lash out at the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard in socialist society, and stubbornly try to reduce the whole idea of democracy to the existence of many parties, "voting-booth competition," parliamentary opposition, and other attributes of "political pluralism," if not to outright anarchy. Besides, they as often as not disguise their true intentions with all kinds of pseudo-innovative and "tactical" considerations.

True Marxist-Leninists have never treated, nor will they ever treat the Party's leading role or democratic centralism as a matter of tactics. This is a matter of political strategy, the very essence of Socialism. The wider the scope of constructive activity and the harder the problems that the community has to resolve, the greater is the role the Party has to play as the political leader of the working class and of all working men.

In an antagonistic society, the form of organisation of authority is always secondary in relation to its substance, the domination by the propertied classes, whatever the expression of this domination (parliamentary rule with all outwardly democratic attributes or despotic one-man rule). Naturally, Communists are far from ignoring individual democratic institutions which are a product of the steadfast struggle of the working class and of all working men, rather than a favour or a sign of the goodwill of the ruling elite. On the contrary, it is they who, in alliance with other forces holding different political views sometimes, most consistently stand up for democratic rights and liberties and resist all attempts of reactionaries at reducing them to nought.

It is not, however, until the victory of a Socialist revolution that people's government, which has for ages been designated as "democracy," acquires its true meaning. The experience of the Soviet state and that of many other countries shows that Socialism equips democracy with the only practicable economic framework--a system of social ownership of the means and implements of production. We oppose the nominal attributes and measures of bourgeois democracy with our own criteria and traditions of democracy responding to the basic interests of the people and the objectives of building Socialism and Communism. Furthermore, democracy acts as one of the major components of the fundamentally new quality of life of the working masses, which is something that no capitalist state ever was or ever will be able to ensure.

The basic repatterning of the relations of production logically leads to man becoming the community's major asset. Therefore, nothing but socialism makes it possible to end the long-continued alienation of the individual and opens up unprecedented opportunities for the members of the community to develop their gifts and abilities and to meet their material and mental needs.

One thing that has to be identified, first and foremost in evaluating the essence of any Constitution is the objective premises and conditions for the actual, real enforcement of the legislatively formalised provisions. Suffice it to compare our Fundamental Law with the Constitutions of bourgeois states from such a position for every unbiased student to see where concern for the human being is real and true and where it is nothing but a pretense and pure formality. It is not by accident that bourgeois Constitutions, as a rule, should be lacking altogether or contain extremely reduced and emasculated rights fundamental to man's vital activity and social status (the right to work, housing, education, health-care, social security and the like).

While assuring everyone great rights and freedoms the socialist system proceeds from the public interest as a matter of paramount importance, which is the supreme expression of one's civic duty. Hence, the dialectical interconnection between the development of democracy, the creation of conditions for

the individual to blossom out and the promotion of better discipline and organisation. Individualistic arrogance and anarchic contempt for one's civic duty and any action detrimental to the public interest are incompatible with the socialist way of life. That is why true humanism does not mean condoning everything or being self-complacent. On the contrary, it implies consistently and emphatically opposing all kinds of antipodes of socialism, embezzlers of public property, blackmarketeers and bribers, individuals shirking socially useful employment, indeed, everybody who may be infringing the law and order and the standards of our community living.

By trading on the human rights issue, imperialist elements are trying to cover up their own disdain for the vital interests of the people of their countries. Callous unemployment of millions, a rising cost of living, suppression of all freedom of thinking, racism, the worship of violence and fear are by no means all of the ulcers eroding bourgeois society. Yet that does not "prevent" its acolytes from donning the mantle of "human rights champions" outside their own home and producing homilies on humanism and justice.

"Democracy is not a fragile flower," the U.S. President has pompously proclaimed. "Still it needs cultivating. If the rest of this century is to witness the gradual growth of freedom and democratic ideals we must take actions to assist the campaign for democracy." "That is a macabre statement by the Chief Executive, indeed, if you recall that it is high-sounding words about humanism, justice, liberty and democracy that have been used to cover up more than one "crusade" of reactionaries against the forces of peace, democracy and progress.

As the world's course of events shows, it is U.S. imperialism that is riding roughshod over human rights, propping up the most reactionary regimes, suppressing national liberation struggles, carrying on unprecedented militarist programmes, and making undisguised preparations for a nuclear war. That is what its "civilising mission" and attempts at "cultivating democracy" around the world mean for the peoples.

Indeed, democracy is not a fragile flower. It is a living and evergreen tree which has shot forth its real sprouts for the first time in history on the socialist ground. And it is by no means in the imperialist compound that one should look for its careful gardeners.

The Communists have no reason to escape a serious discussion on democracy and human rights. The socialist system is treating these rights on a par with the giant tasks history is setting before this new type of society. The peoples are coming to see over and over again that it is Socialism, incarnating as it does true democracy, that is acting as the most powerful force in the battle for peace, for curbing the arms race, resolving global problems, and preserving life itself on Earth. The flame of the October Revolution, which heralded the onset of a new era of world history 66 years ago, is lighting up the way for the peoples into a new society, the society of real democracy and real humanism.

(PRAVDA, December 23. In full.)

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## INTERNATIONAL

### ZIONISTS ASSAILED FOR SEEKING TO PROMOTE JEWISH EMIGRATION FROM USSR

Moscow OGONEK in Russian Nos 46-47, 12, 19 Nov 83

[Article by Yevgeniy Vistunov: "An Invitation Into a Trap"; passages rendered in all capital letters printed in boldface in source]

[No 46, 12 Nov 83 pp 25-27]

[Text] A gloomy, neglected apartment into whose only window the sun peers only rarely. Instead of furniture, there are suitcases. The three occupants of the apartment are people who have left for Israel to "reunite with family" but have settled in New York. They sleep, eat and drearily while away their time on the suitcases as well as write letters to their former motherland. New York, noisy, seething and sparkling with electric sign lights, is on the other side of the window. The city now is already of their former longing. A city of shattered hopes.

In Tel Aviv, to where they will move eventually, the picture is repeated. Again there are suitcases instead of furniture, life is like at a railway station and essentially not differing in anything from that in New York--empty and tense owing to uncertainty.

It may be presumed that the (Han) theater in Jerusalem, which staged this play, did not set itself the task of telling the whole truth about the hard and sometimes hopeless fate of many and many Jewish immigrants, who did not find happiness in the "motherland of their ancestors" nor in other countries, including the United States.

Reviews in the Israeli press define the genre of the play "Tel Aviv--New York--Tel Aviv" as "a mixture of melodrama and comedy" in which the "real dramatism of the situation appears as humor." Humor really softens the difficulties of existence and, as psychiatrists believe, helps to withdraw from a stress situation. However, the press with good reason connects the success of the production, using the words of one of the reviewers, "first of all, with the central theme--a poignant and painful one for Israel--of emigration from the country." The review further stresses that the question, of course, is not in the suitcases themselves, "but in the unstable, uneasy 'suitcase' mood and in the overall atmosphere of uncertainty which surrounds the heroes of the play. They really do live as at a railway station, expecting the impending arrival of a train which goes no one knows where."



This theme--the flight of those who have arrived in Israel and emigrated to other countries but who have failed to find a comfortable haven there--regardless of the attempts made to veil it and make it "appear humorous," worries and affects many social circles of the "promised land." Divergent propaganda definitions of the country as a "flourishing garden," "a second paradise" and "a society of general prosperity" have almost vanished in Israel's means of mass information. The not very comforting forecasts of economic development, the huge 25-billion foreign debt, corruption, crime and prostitution are now being talked about with alarm in the press, the Knesset and synagogues and in the clubs of the ruling and opposition parties.

"The decline, which is being experienced by the country during the past several years in the field of economy and public life, has led to an overall mood that can be expressed in the words: 'We are sitting up to our ears in dirt'."

Ya'ir Zaban, one of the leaders of the United Workers Party [MAPAM], was forced to admit this. Not without sarcasm he recalls the words of Herzl, "father" of Zionism, which now sound as a mockery of Israel's present reality: "Our country will be a country of experiment--an exemplary country for imitation."

For hundreds of thousands of people, who became inhabitants of Israel, this Zionist "ideal" has turned out to be in practice a complete loss of hope. Even before the treacherous invasion of Lebanon and the enormous expenditures connected with this dirty war, the FORUM, a journal published in Israel, noted: "The percentage of poverty has tripled during the past 3 years... as regards the level of inflation, Israel has moved up to the first place in the world." These are not some "opposition" inventions against the ruling circles by the journal, but data of Israel's Central Statistical Bureau.

THE "PROMISED LAND" WAS ALSO NOT PASSED OVER BY UNEMPLOYMENT, WHICH SPREAD ALL OVER THE CAPITALIST WORLD. ADMITTEDLY, IN ISRAEL IT HAS NOT REACHED AS YET THE EXTENT OF SOCIAL DISASTER LIKE, FOR EXAMPLE, IN THE UNITED STATES AND ENGLAND (WHICH THE ISRAELI PRESS LIKES TO EMPHASIZE BOASTFULLY). HOWEVER, EVEN IN THE "BIBLICAL LAND" ITS CONSEQUENCES CAN BE FELT IN THE MOODS OF ORDINARY PEOPLE. AND ESPECIALLY AMONG THOSE WHO HAVE SETTLED IN ISRAEL RECENTLY AND HAVE NOT ACCUSTOMED THEMSELVES YET TO THE IDEA THAT UNEMPLOYMENT IS AN INEVITABLE ATTRIBUTE OF LIFE IN A CAPITALIST SOCIETY JUST LIKE INFLATION, CORRUPTION, GANGSTERISM, PROSTITUTION AND DRUG ADDICTION.

THE BROOM OF UNEMPLOYMENT, FIRST OF ALL, SWEEPS SUCH PEOPLE FROM WORK PLACES AS THE RECRUITS OF ISRAEL. IN AN INTERVIEW BY NASHA STRANA, A RUSSIAN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPER PUBLISHED IN ISRAEL, AZRI'EL WALDMAN, GENERAL DIRECTOR OF THE MINISTRY OF IMMIGRANT ABSORPTION, SAID QUITE PLAINLY: "TODAY, THE REAL UNEMPLOYMENT IS NOT AS GREAT AS THE FEELING OF FEAR OF IT... AND SINCE THERE IS A RULE THAT 'THE ONE WHO COMES THE LAST IS THE FIRST TO LEAVE,' IT IS FEARED THAT THIS WILL, ABOVE ALL, CONCERN THE REPATRIATES."

The aggression in Lebanon has forced Israelis to tighten their belts even more. To pay for military expenditures, it was necessary to reduce the usual ones connected with the daily life of every man. The prices were the first to rise: in July 1982, immediately by 24 percent for fuel and in August for dairy products and bread and later for city transportation, communications, electric energy and taxes on turnover, foreign travel and bank operations.



In order to somehow explain the rapid growth of high prices, the Ministry of Finance of Israel has calculated the cost to it of only 1 hour of military operations. A flight by an F-16 plane into the sky over Lebanon without the cost of bombs is 15,400 dollars, operation of a missile boat is 1,800 dollars and of a tank 500 dollars. As a whole, 1 day of military adventure on the Lebanese soil costs Israel 100 million dollars.

The Zionist myth of a "Jewish state" as a "sacred union of peoples in spirit, belief and blood," who will live without knowing social inequality and in "fraternal union and mutual love, as equals among equals," has also lost its lustre and become dilapidated.

Asher Yisra'el supervisor of the repatriates department at the education and culture center of Israel's trade unions, was forced to admit: "We have come to a consumer society, a society of Jews with sharp elbows, a society of violence. It is no wonder that its part which cannot adapt itself to this atmosphere feels estranged and often raises the desperate question: is this the country where I want to live?"

In planning the invasion of Lebanon, which was hypocritically named operation "Peace for Galilee," the Begin government and the international Zionism relied on stirring up nationalist feelings of Jews in Israel as well as in other countries. But this did not happen. It was just the opposite. The French journal MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE reported in August 1982: "The Operation 'Peace for Galilee' has seriously intensified the isolation of the Jewish state. This war has evoked condemnation of a large part of the public in the West, which is testified by the results of polls in the United States and some other countries. Questions are being anxiously raised about the substantiation of calculations of Israel's ruling clique."

Such condemnations of the militaristic and aggressive course of the Israeli leadership have probably appeared for the first time on the pages of the bourgeois press in the West. The American journal U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT wrote long before the cease-fire in Beirut: "For the first time in the five major conflicts with the Arabs, the traditional unity of Israel during wartime is beginning to vanish under the influence of tension, elicited by the war against the Palestinian partisans in Lebanon. Never before has Israel observed such open dissensions among its own people--sit-down strikes, pickets and even press conferences held by soldiers at which they speak against military operations."

According to a poll conducted in Israel, one out of four of its inhabitants as early as July regarded the invasion of Lebanon as unjustified, and the majority expressed themselves against the assault on Beirut. On 3 July, a protest demonstration was held in Tel Aviv, which was unprecedented since the existence of Israel. Nearly 100,000 of its participants, among whom there were also many servicemen, proceeded along city streets shouting slogans of condemnation against the chauvinistic policy of their government and demanding removal of the "hawks" of war--Begin and Defense Minister Sharon.

The chronically sick economy of Israel, difficulties in finding work based on one's skill, the growth of high prices and the undisguised militaristic

course of the government--all these and other unsolved and unsolvable problems have caught many Israelis on the horns of a dilemma: to stay in the country and live in fear of tomorrow or to leave? And if to leave, where to?

THE QUESTION IS FAR FROM RHETORICAL. IT INEVITABLY ARISES AMONG THOSE WHO ARRIVED FOR PERMANENT RESIDENCE IN ISRAEL AND AMONG THOSE WHO ARE LURED THERE BY ALL MANNER OF PROMISES BY ZIONIST RECRUITERS.

IT NOT ONLY ARISES, BUT ALSO PERCEPTIBLY AFFECTS THE DEMOGRAPHIC CONDITION IN THE COUNTRY. DURING THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS, THE NUMBER OF THOSE WHO LEFT ISRAEL HAS CONSIDERABLY EXCEEDED THE NUMBER WHO HAVE ARRIVED THERE. THERE ARE AS MANY AS HALF A MILLION PEOPLE WHO HAVE EMIGRATED TO OTHER COUNTRIES. ON VISITING THE UNITED STATES, GENERAL SHARON, WHO WAS THE ISRAELI DEFENSE MINISTER AT THAT TIME, HAS EXPRESSED HIS UNHAPPY IMPRESSIONS AS FOLLOWS: "NEW YORK HAS BEEN TRANSFORMED INTO THE LARGEST CITY OF ISRAELIS--INSTEAD OF TEL AVIV."

NEITHER THE APPEAL TO RELIGIOUS FEELINGS OF ISRAELIS, NOR THE "SCIENTIFIC" FORECASTS OF RAPID FLOURISHING OF THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMY AND, THEREFORE, THE COMING AT ANY MOMENT PROSPERITY OF EACH AND ALL, ARE UNABLE TO RESTRAIN EMIGRATION. THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP OF THE COUNTRY WAS FORCED TO ADMIT PUBLICLY THAT IT IS "IN DANGER OF DEPLETION OF HUMAN RESOURCES."

Taking these statistics into account, the ruling circles of Israel came to the conclusion that they are being underhandedly let down by the Zionists overseas. They have promised many times to place a reliable barrier to those Jewish immigrants, who, after leaving the motherland under the pretext of returning to the "land of ancestors," preferred settling in the United States. Even without stopping in Israel so as to testify to their kindred feelings to the families for the "reunion" with whom they strived so much. Concrete actions followed this conclusion.

As reported by the Israeli newspaper JERUSALEM POST, the board of the Jewish agency Sokhnut adopted a decision to "discontinue assistance to those immigrants, who, after leaving the Soviet Union on Israeli visas, do not go to Israel but to the United States, Canada, Australia and other countries." In carrying this announcement, the newspaper made it clear that the adopted decision, as the saying goes, carries no right of appeal, that the time of luring people to Israel with gingerbread has ended and that the period to make use of a whip has come.

The circle of unsolvable problems of "returning to Zion" and replenishing the "center of Jewish nation and culture" has closed. Some Jews do not even want to step on the Israeli soil, others "vote with their feet" against staying there any further: they scatter aimlessly. But the Zionists continue luring regular seekers of good fortune into the Israeli trap, people who have been confused by subtle propaganda which is generously subsidized by certain services.

Advocates of Zionism dress up their reactionary propaganda in various fancy dresses. One of the varieties of such a fancy dress--a myth of a "unified spiritual community" as "the highest achievement of civilization," "a unified culture."

As the years passed and as Zionism enriched its arsenal of propaganda methods and developed a strategic line of ideological and psychological treatment, the myth of "unified Jewish culture" has acquired an even greater nationalist complexion. Judaism with its reactionary and Old Testament dogmata has become its "scientific" basis.

The myth of a Jewish "unified national culture" is not new. It is as old as the existence of Zionism and its reactionary ideology in the world. In exposing the reactionary essence of the Bund, which sought autonomy of the Jews in the workers movement, V. I. Lenin wrote: "The one who directly or indirectly voices the slogan of Jewish 'national culture,' that one (regardless of how good his intentions may be) is an enemy of the proletariat, an advocate of the old and the caste of the Jews and an accomplice of rabbis and the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, those Jews-Marxists who join international Marxist organizations with Russian, Lithuanian, Ukrainian and other workers and make their contribution (in Russian and in Yiddish) to the creation of an international culture of the workers movement, those Jews--contrary to the separatism of the Bund--are continuing the best traditions of the Jews by fighting against the slogan of 'national culture'."

THE MAJORITY OF ZIONIST ORGANIZATIONS IN ISRAEL AND ACROSS THE OCEAN HAVE CHOSEN THE USSR AND THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY COUNTRIES AS THE MAIN TARGET OF THEIR ATTACKS. AT ALL ZIONIST ASSEMBLAGES, WHICH ARE HELD BY THEM UNDER HIGH-SOUNDING NAMES SUCH AS "INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES," "WORLD CONFERENCES," "SCIENTIFIC SYMPOSIUMS," "HEARINGS" AND SO FORTH, THE SOVIET UNION IS OPENLY AND HIGH-SOUNDINGLY DECLARED AS ZIONISM'S ENEMY NO 1.

ONE OF SUCH WASP NESTS OF DIVERSION AGAINST THE USSR IN THE UNITED STATES IS THE SO-CALLED "NATIONAL CONFERENCE IN DEFENSE OF SOVIET JEWS," WHICH WAS CREATED IN 1970 ON THE BASIS OF 34 ZIONIST ORGANIZATIONS. ITS CHAIRMAN WAS THE WELL-KNOWN ANTI-SOVIET INDIVIDUAL NAMED (STANLEY LOVELL), WHO WAS REPLACED BY THEODORE MANN, A ZIONIST LEADER OF EVEN STRONGER RIGHTIST VIEWS.

CAUGHT RED-HANDED IN THE USSR--ZIONIST LITERATURE, ADDRESSES AND SURNAMES OF PERSONS OF INTEREST TO THE AMERICAN SPECIAL SERVICES AND INSTRUCTIONS FOR RENEGADES WHO AGREED TO SUPPLY SLANDEROUS AND TENDENTIOUS MATERIAL IN RETURN FOR SCRAPS--SOME OF THEODORE MANN'S MESSENGERS HAVE REVEALED CERTAIN SECRETS OF THEIR SPONSOR AND HIS DIVERSION CENTER AS WELL.

The headquarters of the "National Conference in Defense of Soviet Jews" is located in New York. Steering all of its dirty deeds is an executive committee, which consists of 11 Zionists especially trusted by Theodore Mann. The program of subversive activity against the USSR, which was developed by them, is briefly something like this: collection of slanderous materials which discredit the Soviet Union's foreign and domestic policy and conducting anti-Soviet actions in the United States--demagogic "protest" demonstrations against concluding trade deals with our country, continuing talks on arms reduction and performances by creative collectives as well as exerting pressure on Zionist and pro-Israel lobbies in the Congress and the U.S. Government. It is well-known that during discussions in the U.S. Congress of Senator Jackson's notorious amendment on discriminatory restrictions in

trade with the USSR, the Zionist emissaries, who have visited our country, actively sought people who would agree to send to U.S. Government circles and the United Nations an appeal in support of the demands by the congressman-Zionist.

The program of the "National Conference" also clearly defines the main task in sending Zionist emissaries to the USSR--to inflate nationalist moods among the Jews and to persuade them to create nationalist formations under the guise of a harmless mask of groups for the study of ancient Hebrew, various seminars--religious, scientific and philosophical--and clubs for meetings and exchanging views. It goes without saying that the role of ideological guardians of this "cultural program" and suppliers of corresponding literature, which is aimed at stirring up nationalism and extremism, is assumed by international Zionism.

Attempts to create Zionist links in the Soviet Union have been known for a long time. As early as 1972, B. Ehrlich, member of the Israel Communist Party Central Committee, wrote: "In the socialist countries, including in the USSR, Zionism is attempting to spread the poison of anti-Sovietism among Jews and non-Jews. Jews, who immigrated from the USSR to Israel and other capitalist countries, have publicly admitted that groups and organizations, which are engaged in dissemination of anti-Soviet literature and in other illegal activities, have been created through efforts of the Zionists in the USSR." Incidentally, the World Zionist Organization (VSO) has a special information department, which calls its subversive activity against our country as "stimulation of immigration by means of dissemination among Soviet Jews of true information about the State of Israel and values of Judaism."

What these "values" are and why they are exported to the socialist countries by international Zionism is well-known from numerous statements of its leaders of various generations. Every Jew must "render assistance to Israel, regardless if the government of the country, of which the Jews are subjects and in which they live, wishes it or not," Prime Minister Ben-Gurion lectured.

It is in this manner that Zionist ideologists and recruiters furnish an ideological basis for their gross interference in the internal affairs of other countries by openly calling upon Jews living in them not to observe the laws of their country of residence.

It cannot be said that the Zionist hunters of souls have succeeded in this field. However, there are some who do get caught in their net...

YA. I. GORODETSKIY, A FORMER TEACHER OF MATHEMATICS AT 33D EVENING SCHOOL IN LENINGRAD, HAS NOT SUBMITTED DOCUMENTS ON LEAVING FOR ISRAEL. HE IS ONE OF THOSE WHO ARE NEEDED BY ZIONIST ORGANIZATIONS IN THE WEST HERE, IN THE SOVIET UNION. BY CUNNINGLY PLAYING ON HIS SELF-ESTEEM AND STRIVING FOR LEADERSHIP AND BY INFLAMING NATIONALIST MOODS IN EVERY POSSIBLE WAY, THE ZIONISTS FROM ABROAD HAVE INCLINED GORODETSKIY TOWARD SCORNFUL ATTITUDE TO SOVIET LAWS. HE IMMERSSED HIMSELF, LIKE INTO A BOG, IN STUDYING ZIONIST LITERATURE, PRINTING IT ON A MACHINE AND DISTRIBUTING IT AMONG ACQUAINTANCES. GORODETSKIY WAS WARNED THAT HIS ACTIVITIES DO NOT CONFORM AT ALL TO CERTAIN CLAUSES OF THE CRIMINAL CODE,



BUT HE DID NOT HEED THESE WARNINGS. BEING AWARE OF THE ILLEGAL NATURE OF HIS ACTIVITIES, GORODETSKIY KEPT THE ZIONIST ANTI-SOVIET LITERATURE AND MATERIALS ON THE POSITION "WITHOUT ANY RIGHTS" OF SOVIET JEWS NOT AT HIS HOME BUT WITH ACQUAINTANCES, WHERE IT WAS ALL CONFISCATED BY COMPETENT ORGANS.

I should dwell on one of the materials especially. It was composed by G. I. Vasserman, an acquaintance of Gorodetskiy.

Vasserman's composition, which is entitled "Hello, My Friend," is a rehash of Zionist lamentations over the "mortal danger of assimilation" of Jews and appeals for the revival of Jewish life in the USSR. This nationalist message, which is intended for broad dissemination, ends as follows: "To be a Jew also means to feel the hard affected nature of galut (as residence of Jews in all other countries with the exception of Israel is referred to in Hebrew) and wishing that it will end soonest. To be a Jew means not only dreaming but acting in this direction as well."

The "direction," which is mentioned somewhat vaguely in the "message," was, of course, defined not by Vasserman himself. He, Gorodetskiy and other like-minded persons have developed it according to Zionist instructions, which recommend "returning to Jewishness prior to returning to the Jewish country" by attending corresponding schooling in the so-called ul'pans--groups and seminars for the study of language, history and Judaism.

Gorodetskiy, Vasserman and their associates say that the activity of these ul'pans "will be a valuable contribution... to the cause of strengthening friendship among peoples of the USSR and expanding relations with the entire progressive world community."

After reading the demagogic paragraphs of the official statement, I involuntarily recalled a 13-year old criminal case when a group of thugs, who attempted to seize and fly off with a regular-route AN-2 plane, were called to account before the court. The investigation and the court have established that the "claimants" to air piracy have maintained contact with Zionist organizations abroad, received instructions and anti-Soviet literature from them and, during the days preceding the attempt to seize the plane, acted according to a scenario approved by the Israeli special services.

I recalled this case because of the following reason. The main body of the group of thugs has also studied in ul'pans and also asserted that it did not see anything bad in that. And, moreover, anything that was illegal. So they gathered in the evenings, and they studied ancient Hebrew. They maintained this harmless version also in court.

Recently customs officials confiscated a whole bundle of anti-Soviet literature from one of the Zionist emissaries. Included in it were reminiscences of an active member of the same group of thugs who faced the court in 1970, Gilel' Butman. After serving his sentence, he moved to Israel and took up the pen. This time without dodging and concealing his intentions, as was the case in court, Butman describes events of those days in demagogic words and admits



that he and like-minded persons have come to Zionist ideology and to creating an underground Zionist organization (with assignment of responsibilities in it, payment of membership dues) precisely through the ul'pans. They, the ul'pans, the foreword says, have "opened a new world before those who just recently did not regard Bar-Kokhba and Trumpeldor but Aleksandr Nevskiy, Dmitriy Donskoy, Peter I and Decembrists as their heroes"... The Zionist centers in the West clutched to the "cultural program" of the ul'pans because it serves as a reliable cover for true intentions of the ideological saboteurs of Zion. Butman's revelations only slightly lift the dark curtain which conceals all the ins and outs of these intentions. "We did not make the changing of the existing system in the USSR as our goal," he writes, "but objectively we rocked the boat and hoped that it will turn upside down one day."

Numerous facts, including materials which were confiscated while being smuggled across the border by "National Conference" emissaries (Eugene Gold, Filla Goldstein, Jules Lippert, Joseph Pupko, Allen Gold, Harold Greenberg, Myrna Shinbaum, Ernst Kann, Harold Levine, Ritsyu and Harry Charltein, Ekharv Shayndlin, William Aron) and others, convincingly testify: all these ul'pans or "groups" and "clubs" are nothing else but fig leaves that chastely conceal illegal activities. The dream of the Zionist ringleaders is to transform them into their support centers in the USSR and mouthpieces of reactionary ideology.

The Zionists do not spare assurances that they are concerned only about one thing: revival and preservation of a "unified national culture," which, they say, will save the "people of Moses" from assimilation. But these assurances are false from beginning to end.

PARADOXICAL, BUT A FACT: THE ABSOLUTE MAJORITY OF ZIONIST NEWSPAPERS AND JOURNALS IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES ARE PUBLISHED NOT IN HEBREW, WHICH THE ZIONISTS ADVOCATE SO MUCH, AND NOT EVEN IN YIDDISH, BUT IN LANGUAGES OF THE COUNTRIES WHERE JEWS RESIDE. HERE IS WHAT WELL-KNOWN ENGLISH JOURNALIST SOLLY SAX WROTE IRONICALLY IN THIS CONNECTION: "ALREADY FOR SEVERAL YEARS NOW THEY (THE ZIONISTS--YE.V.) HAVE BEEN HOWLING ABOUT 'SUPPRESSION' OF JEWISH CULTURE IN THE SOVIET UNION. ONE MAY THINK THAT ALL OF THE HALF MILLION JEWS IN ENGLAND SPEAK HEBREW AND THAT THE SHELVES IN THEIR HOMES ARE FILLED WITH COMPOSITIONS ONLY BY JEWISH WRITERS. IN REALITY ONLY ONE PERCENT OF THESE PEOPLE SPEAK HEBREW. IN THE 17 YEARS OF MY LIFE IN ENGLAND I HAVE NOT SEEN A SINGLE NEWSPAPER OR A JOURNAL IN HEBREW AND HAVE NOT HEARD ABOUT A JEWISH THEATER. THERE ARE MANY JEWS WHO ARE WRITERS, POETS AND PLAYWRIGHTS, BUT THEY WRITE IN ENGLISH AND, IN ESSENCE, ARE NOT JEWISH WRITERS."

INVOLUNTARILY A QUESTION ARISES: KNOWING AND ADMITTING THAT THE "MAIN REASON OF ASSIMILATION IS IN THE JEWS THEMSELVES" AND THAT IT INCLUDES ALL COUNTRIES AND PARTICULARLY THE UNITED STATES, THE ZIONIST LEADERS, WHO ARE CONCERNED FOR THE "PURITY" OF THE JEWISH POPULATION, FOR SOME REASON LOOK AFTER SOVIET JEWS ALONE.

It is appropriate to remind them that the Soviet Union is the only country in the world where citizens of Jewish nationality are constitutionally guaranteed the possibility of realizing their right to self-determination. In 1934,

the Jewish Autonomous Oblast was created in the composition of the RSFSR. Soviet Jews, like citizens of other ethnic groups, have every right to spiritual development, to broad participation in the further enrichment of international Soviet culture.

According to the data of the last census, in the USSR there are only 15 percent of citizens of Jewish nationality who know or regard Yiddish as their native language. But they also have not been passed over by attention in our country as regards their ethnic, cultural demands. We also have literary workers who write in Yiddish, and a press in this language: the literary-artistic journal

SOVETISH HEIMLAND which is published in Moscow, the newspaper BIROBIDZHANER SHTERN. There are also Jewish music theaters and groups... In any library one can find compositions by Sholom Aleichem, Mendele Moikher Sforim, Peretz Markish, David Bergel'sohn and many other well-known Jewish writers and poets.

Such examples are obvious and usual for citizens of the USSR of any nationality. In our country all people are equal and enjoy equal rights. This is a bedrock of the Leninist nationalities policy. It is no accident that in the "appeal" of the recently created Anti-Zionist Committee of Soviet Public it is stressed: "Soviet Jews note with contempt the attempts by Zionist propagandists to interfere in their life, angrily condemn the falsehood and slander against the socialist fatherland. Citizens of the USSR--Jews--are an integral part of the Soviet people."

[No 47, 19 Nov pp 22-24]

[Text] The Zionists, who gloss over all of these obvious facts, have no reason to deny them, and they are looking for other "convincing arguments." At one of the meetings in Leningrad with American journalists I was asked: "Why nobody in the Soviet Union knows and publishes works by Israeli poet Uri-Tzvi Greenberg) and writer Leon Uris?"

I had to explain to the American that racist and chauvinist manifestations are persecuted in the USSR, I also had to remind him that in 1975 the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution condemning Zionism as a threat to peace and international security, as a form of racism and racial discrimination. "Excuse me," the American interrupted me, obviously dissatisfied with the "beginning" of my answer. "But what are your laws and the UN resolution have to do with a writer's freedom of speech?" Realizing what the "curious" colleague was driving at, I answered: "There is a most direct connection. The works by Uri-Tzvi Greenberg and Leon Uris are completely permeated with Zionist venom. They are racist and, therefore, are directed not only against the USSR, but against all mankind...." There was no stopping the American: "Proof?" I had to use my notebook and read an extract from an obituary published by the Israeli press in connection with the death of Uri Tzvi Greenberg: "Like ancient prophets, Uri-Tzvi did not recognize compromise. If he spoke of liberation of the country, he had the entire Eretz-Yisra'el--from the Nile to the Euphrates--in mind...." It further described Greenberg's political activity, which made him a prophet of "Jewish fascism" in the eyes of many.

The American threw up his hands and condescendingly admitted: "You convinced me! The truth is I have not read books by Uri-Tzvi, but fascism is hateful to me..."

I HAVE DESCRIBED THIS ARGUMENT-DIALOGUE WITH THE FOREIGN JOURNALIST ONLY BECAUSE IT THROWS LIGHT ON ONE OF THE TACTICAL METHODS OF ZIONIST PROPAGANDA: TO PRAISE IN EVERY WAY POSSIBLE THE ACTIVITY OF LITERATURE AND ART, WHICH SUPPORT ZIONISM DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY, AND, WITHOUT SPARING ANY WORDS, TO SPEAK ILL AND SUBJECT TO HOUNDING THOSE WHO DO NOT SHARE THIS RACIST IDEOLOGY, AND EVEN MORE SO IF THEY SPEAK AGAINST IT.

ZIONISM USES THIS TACTIC IN COUNTRIES OF THE OLD AND THE NEW WORLD, WHERE IT HAS A BROAD NETWORK OF ITS OWN MEANS OF MASS INFORMATION AND A ZIONIST LOBBY WHICH POSSESSES REAL POWER IN MANY OTHER PUBLISHING HOUSES, EDITORIAL OFFICES OF NEWSPAPER AND JOURNALS AND RADIO AND TELEVISION. THIS TACTIC IS ALSO INGENUOUSLY USED IN RELATION TO THE CREATIVITY OF SOVIET WRITERS, ARTISTS AND COMPOSERS, IN RELATION TO OUR COUNTRY'S HISTORY AND THE SOVIET WAY OF LIFE. LOUD PUBLICITY, FLATTERY AND, IF REQUIRED BY ZIONIST INTERESTS, ENSURED PUBLICATION IN RUSSIAN AND EUROPEAN LANGUAGES OF WORKS WHICH MAY BE INTERPRETED AS DIRECTED AGAINST THE "SOVIET OFFICIAL DOCTRINE" AND WHICH "CRITICIZE THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM IN THE AESOPIAN LANGUAGE."

I will describe one of the numerous examples. In one of the Zionist booklets, which I spotted on a trip abroad, the author describes the paintings by Riga artist Iosif Kuz'kovskiy, who later left for Israel. The Zionist idea of the exceptional nature of Jews and their superiority "casts off" out of every page of this racist opus like fur off a dead cat. Offhandedly in the expanded generalizations of "documentary" events, the author painstakingly tars everything that is Russian, everything that is Soviet--from traditions and customs to characters. Even Georgian Jews are perceived by him as an "inferior race," totally devoid of intellect of the "God-chosen" sons of Zion.

INTERNATIONAL ZIONISM ALSO PLACES ITS HOPES ON STIRRING UP RELIGIOUS FEELINGS OF SOVIET JEWS. AS A CONSEQUENCE OF NUMEROUS TRIPS TO THE USSR AND FREE CONTACT WITH RABBIS AND BELIEVERS, THE VISITORS FROM ABROAD, OF COURSE, KNOW PERFECTLY WELL THAT IN OUR COUNTRY THE PROFESSION OF JUDAISM, LIKE ALL OTHER RELIGIONS, IS A MATTER OF CONSCIENCE OF ANY SOVIET CITIZEN AND THAT THIS RIGHT WAS NOT ONLY DECLARED BUT IS ALSO GUARANTEED BY THE USSR CONSTITUTION. BUT FOR THEIR POLITICAL PURPOSES IT IS MORE ADVANTAGEOUS FOR ZIONISTS CENTERS IN THE WEST TO INTERPRET JUDAISM NOT SIMPLY AS A RELIGION, BUT AS SOMETHING VASTLY GREATER WHICH ABSORBS IN ITSELF THE OLD TESTAMENT DOGMATA OF THE "CHOSEN OF GOD," "RACIAL SUPERIORITY OF JEWS," THEIR "DOOM" TO PERPETUAL PERSECUTION AND THE TRADITIONS OF "NATIONAL ALIENATION." ISRAEL'S FIRST PRESIDENT WEIZMANN, WHO GAINED THE GLORY OF THE MOST PROMINENT FIGURE IN INTERNATIONAL ZIONISM, ASSERTED: "OUR JUDAISM AND OUR ZIONISM MUTUALLY DEPEND ON EACH OTHER, ONE CANNOT BE BURIED IN OBLIVION WITHOUT DESTROYING THE OTHER AT THE SAME TIME." THIS IS WHY ZIONIST CONDUCTORS OF THE IDEOLOGICAL SABOTAGE AGAINST THE USSR RECOMMEND SO PER-SISTENTLY THAT BESIDES ANCIENT HEBREW AND CULTURE THE PROGRAM OF STUDIES FOR SOVIET JEWS ALSO INCLUDE THE PRINCIPLES OF JUDAISM. THE AIMS PURSUED HERE ARE FAR-REACHING AND PRECISELY ADJUSTED POLITICALLY: TO SOW SEEDS OF SCEPTICISM IN

COMMUNIST IDEALS ON THE RICH SOIL OF NATIONALIST MOODS AND TO PROMPT PEOPLE TO OPPOSE THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM. A PROGRAM OF THIS KIND IS AIMED AT CONTRASTING EGOTISTICAL ASPIRATIONS, INDIVIDUALISM AND THE CULT OF PRIVATE-ENTERPRISES ACTIVITY WITH THE SOVIET WAY OF LIFE.

Zionist agents provocateurs hardly confide their secret plans to everyone who gets caught in their nets. Defending in words the allegedly violated rights of Jews in the USSR and persuading them to leave for Israel, they do not conceal that they are needed by Zionists here, in the USSR, but, of course, in a definite role.

In one of the letters of instruction, which are secretly delivered across the border to a "confidential agent" in Leningrad, this role is defined as follows: "The most important--make a fuss at the slightest pretext. And make it as loud as possible. Do not wait for details of reasons why someone was refused a visa. Speak of it everywhere and report to us at first opportunity that the refusal was illegal, inhuman because the one who wishes to leave is gravely ill, half-starved and would like to die only in Eretz Yisra'el... Encourage submission of applications for exit visas in every possible way and advise applicants to dodge obtaining official permission as long as possible. If they are dismissed from work or other discriminatory measures are taken against them, if they quit themselves or are punished for some reason--this will only benefit our cause... Your silence may be regarded in the West as unwillingness to act..."

Another letter of instruction gives the following advice: "We have a single precept: Eretz Yisra'el, Zionism and the Jewish people are indivisible. The one who is against any part of this triune in the USSR is against it as a whole. If you have decided to return to the mother country, do not be shy to defend it with every means available to you."

It is true that Zionist centers do not use these kind of written instructions very often. After all, a letter is evidence. If it reaches unintended hands it will expose the cards of Zionists and irrefutably expose their criminal intentions.

The visits to the USSR by Zionist emissaries is something else. They come to us most often under the guise of tourists. Consequently, they can associate with persons of interest to them, and having experience in psychological cultivation they can throw dust into the eyes of ideologically unstable people.

Based on the number of "messengers" of the aforementioned "National Conference," who were caught red-handed in the USSR, its patrons are relying precisely on "live" propaganda of Zionism and direct contacts with "objects" selected in advance.

Harold Greenberg and his wife Ailene were among such visitors. They arrived in the USSR from the United States, in order to "see" Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev and Odessa. For what purpose? The answer to this question was in their notebooks with dozens of addresses, which must be visited so that which



was secretly brought in could be turned over and that which was prepared for them could be received. It was also necessary to conduct instructive talks on what information on the USSR is expected abroad and what must be done prior to the arrival of the next Zionist visitor.

The Greenberg couple had truly manifested the endurance of marathon runners. Trips to the addresses, which were of interest to the "National Conference" and the U.S. special services as well, continued from the first to the last day of their individual tourist travel authorization. It seemed to them that success was reliably ensured. It was in the pocket, or more accurately in the bag with a double bottom, in the shoes of the tireless Harold and in the most intimate toilet articles of the similarly tireless Ailene.

"Victory" slipped out of their hands at the very end--at the Sheremet'yevskaya custom-house. Its associates discovered in Greenberg's shoes and in his wife's articles films with photographic copies of texts of slanderous fabrications about the USSR and addresses and surnames of persons with whom it is worth to maintain contact in the future or, in other words, to continue the "work." But, perhaps, the most unexpected was hidden in the double-bottom bag. A conclusion was made by specialists later: an article with photographs, schedules and schemes devoted to problems of nuclear physics was removed from it...

The Greenbergs had enough strength left over after this tour to kick up a row in the custom-house. The most rowdy one at that.

The failure of the mission of the Greenberg couple and other emissaries of the "National Conference" did not cool the anti-Soviet fervor of its leaders. After Reagan's election as president of the United States and the "crusade" against communism proclaimed by him it was even the other way round--inspired toward new adventures and provocations.

The Zionist press in the United States and other countries, especially in Israel, notes with satisfaction that during his stay in the White House "Reagan made more pro-Israeli speeches than any other U.S. president before him." In May 1981, he granted an audience to felon, terrorist-Zionist Mendelevich, who was convicted in Leningrad for the earlier mentioned attempt of armed seizure and commandeering of an Aeroflot plane, after he served his sentence and left for the West.

In this case Reagan declared unconditional support by the present White House administration of Zionist intrigues against the USSR, and Richard Allen, his former assistant for national security, made a special statement on this subject at a Zionist gathering in New York.

The "National Conference" also did not stay aloof of this anti-Soviet orgy. Together with the notorious "Jewish Defense League" and other Zionist rabble it organized a row at the Aeroflot agency in New York and participated in several hooligan acts against personnel of the USSR embassy in Washington.



After a certain shock as a result of failures in the USSR of the "National Conference" emissaries, their infiltration into our country has increased in frequency again. Constance Smukler, a functionary of this Zionist organization, was detained with ideological contraband at the Pulkovo airport. Like the Greenberg couple, "tourist" Smukler "worked," as the saying goes, to exhaustion: she did not allow herself a minute of rest. To the courteous offers by associates of the All-Union Joint-Stock Company for Foreign Tourism in the USSR [Inturist] to visit the world famous museums and theaters and to see the sights of the capital and the city on the Neva, she invariably responded with a quick and meaningful: "No!"

But Smukler immediately found a common language with those for whom she crossed the Atlantic Ocean--renegades, who supply the West with slanderous materials about the Soviet Union. Photographed by her on film and recorded on tape of a portable tape recorder, they were confiscated from Smukler during a customs inspection. Exactly in the same manner as it happened a few years ago, when her husband, chairman of the affiliate of the "American National Conference" in Philadelphia, came from the United States.

They undeniably make a pair.

Another visitor of the "National Conference" was none other than its executive director Jerry Goodman, who lives on the fashionable Fifth Avenue in New York. As befits an organizer of provocations, he thought out his arrival in the USSR to the smallest detail. It is probably not by accident that Goodman had a tape recorder, which could not be distinguished from a notebook even by a person experienced in this matter, and enough miniature cassettes to record all addresses and surnames printed in the telephone directories of Moscow and Leningrad.

However, Goodman was not interested in telephone directories. Even without them, despite the fact that he was in our country for the first time, he knew how and where to call and how to reach a destination more faster. He also knew that a certain L was convicted in Leningrad for activities that are strictly prosecuted by law in any state--resistance to people who stand on guard of public order.

L, a person with higher education, resisted in a very unintelligent manner. Like a lowliest hooligan, he kicked a militiaman in stomach with his foot. Both the witnesses and medical examination have confirmed: yes, it happened precisely in this manner. The people's court has treated the criminal in a humane manner by sentencing him to 2 years of imprisonment with a condition of compulsory performance of labor.

One would think, of what concern is this to a Zionist organization abroad? What right does it have to interfere in a court decision of sovereign state?

ZIONISTS ARE NOT BOTHERED BY THESE ELEMENTARY QUESTIONS. INFLATING ON THE BASIS OF THESE KIND OF "FACTS" THE MYTH OF PERSECUTION OF JEWS IN THE USSR IS A BEDROCK OF THE GREATER PART OF ZIONISM'S IDEOLOGICAL SABOTAGE AGAINST OUR COUNTRY, PROVOCATIVE CAMPAIGNS AND SLANDERROUS MATERIALS IN THE PRESS.

GOODMAN SOUGHT PRECISELY THESE KIND OF "SENSATIONS" IN THE USSR: "VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS," AND IF ONE IS TO BE EXACT TO THE LETTER--"PERSECUTION OF JEWS." OTHERWISE HE WOULD NOT HAVE COME TO THE PEOPLE, WHO, BEING FLATTERED BY SUCH GREAT ATTENTION OF A "DEFENDER FROM ACROSS THE OCEAN," COLORFULLY DESCRIBED THE "VIOLENCE" UPON L. BEING SOMEWHAT ACCUSTOMED TO FALSIFICATIONS AND SLANDER, GOODMAN ASKED THEM FOR ILLUSTRATED MATERIAL. HE WAS SHOWN PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN IN THE COURTROOM: L. STANDING BETWEEN TWO MILITIAMEN, ON ANOTHER PHOTOGRAPH-- HE HAD HIS HANDS BEHIND HIS BACK.

IT IS UNKNOWN WITH WHAT GOODMAN PAID FOR THESE STILLS. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT HE RECEIVED THEM AS A GIFT. BUT THE MOST IMPORTANT IS THAT HE WAS VERY MUCH PLEASED WITH THEM. ESPECIALLY SO, SINCE BESIDES PHOTOGRAPHS HE WAS ABLE TO OBTAIN SOMETHING ELSE, WHICH WAS QUITE SUITABLE FOR CONCOTING A REGULAR "CANARD" IN THE KITCHEN OF ANTI-SOVIETISM.

BESIDES ITS OWN PUBLICATIONS, THE "NATIONAL CONFERENCE" (AS WELL AS OTHER "SOLID" ZIONIST ORGANIZATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES) ALSO BROADLY USES OTHER SO-CALLED NONGOVERNMENT MEANS OF MASS INFORMATION--THESE MOUTHPIECES OF MISINFORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION AND DISSEMINATION OF SLANDER ABOUT THE SOVIET REALITY. ONE SUCH MOUTHPIECE--THE VOICE OF AMERICA RADIO STATION--WILLINGLY MAKES ITS SHORTWAVES AVAILABLE TO THE LEADERSHIP OF THE "NATIONAL CONFERENCE" FOR "LONG" LIES ABOUT OUR COUNTRY.

In July last year, one evening broadcast of the Voice of America reported on a Washington meeting of the Civil Affairs Subcommittee of the House of Representatives. The meeting was devoted to "hearing the question on the situation of Jews in the Soviet Union." Speaking as witnesses at this anti-Soviet gathering were Theodore Mann, chairman of the "National Conference" and a certain "scientist-historian and doctor of sciences (William Corri)."

What did these Zionist men--a lawyer and a historian--"testify" about? Speaking in the language of the criminal code, they did not testify, they committed perjury. By way of proof, I will quote some of their passages word for word. "The official Soviet ideology is inimical to all religions, but the attacks on the Jewish religion in the press occupy the most important place." This "can be explained as a part of the overall anti-Semitic campaign by the Soviet authorities."

Using the worn out Zionist propaganda method of sticking the label of anti-Semitism on any critical material in the Soviet press against Judaism from the position of scientific atheism, the perjurers did not stop at this. If one is to lie, then lets lie to the hilt! If, as the saying goes, the paper can bear everything, then the radio waves even more so. "In the Soviet Union," they continued, flying into passion, "the systematically mass published booklets portray Jews as bloodthirsty misanthropes who are striving to enslave the whole world."

There is no need to comment on or contest this blasphemous lie. But it is still necessary to remind of as to which Zionist authorities it comes from and on whose official statements it relies.

Zionist propaganda, its means of mass information and the Zionist centers such as the "National Conference" do not spare any strength or means in inflating the lie of a supposedly existing anti-Semitism in the USSR. This lie pursues far-reaching goals and Zionist leaders of different generations have not attempted and are not attempting to conceal its true essence. "Gradual disappearance of anti-Semitism," asserted Goldman, former chairman of the World Jewish Congress, "can turn out to be a new danger for the Jewish cause." Zionist theoretician (Sharun) has expressed even more definitely the usefulness of anti-Semitism for the "Jewish cause": "I can guarantee that anti-Semitism influences 10,000-fold more effectively the settling of Jews in Israel than thousands of emissaries and appeals for increasing emigration." In commenting on this revelation by the advocate of anti-Semitism, Soviet playwright and publicist Tsezar' Solodar' quotes the following cynical saying that exists among Zionists: "If there was no anti-Semitism, it would have to be invented."

THE "EVIDENCE," USING THE WORDS OF THE AFOREMENTIONED THEODORE MANN, OF A "GENERAL ANTI-SEMITIC CAMPAIGN BY SOVIET AUTHORITIES" IS CHURNED OUT ACCORDING TO A LONG-ESTABLISHED STEREOTYPE, EVEN WITHOUT GLANCING BACK AT PLAUSIBLE FACTS. FIRST OF ALL, AS A RULE, THERE MUST BE A SPECIFIC SURNAME OF A SOVIET CITIZEN OF JEWISH NATIONALITY, WHO IN ACCORDANCE WITH OUR COUNTRY'S LAWS HAD TO FACE THE COURT FOR SOME UNSEEMLY DEEDS. THE KIND OF DEEDS ARE OF NO SIGNIFICANCE. THE FACT THAT CRIMINAL PROCEEDING WERE INSTITUTED IS IMPORTANT, WHICH IN THE LANGUAGE OF ZIONIST PROPAGANDA SHOULD BE HEARD THROUGHOUT THE WORLD AS "PERSECUTION," "INFRINGEMENT OF RIGHTS," "DISCRIMINATION" AND SO FORTH. IT IS DESIRABLE THAT THIS FACT IS COMMENTED ON IN A LIGHT ADVANTAGEOUS TO ZIONIST PROPAGANDA BY SOMEONE AMONG THE RELATIVES OR FRIENDS OF THE ACCUSED. THE COLLECTION OF "EVIDENCE" WILL FULLY CORRESPOND TO THE STEREOTYPE IF IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO ADD TO ALL OF THIS SOME KIND OF ILLUSTRATED MATERIAL: PHOTOCOPIES OF LETTERS, AN APPEAL OF THE "PERSECUTED PERSON" WITH A REQUEST FOR PROTECTION TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS OR EVEN OFFICIAL SOVIET ONES, PHOTOGRAPHS OF HIMSELF OR HIS FAMILY, THE HOUSE OR APARTMENT WHERE HE LIVED AND THE COURT BUILDING WHERE THE SENTENCE WAS PASSED. FOR THE FINAL "ARRANGEMENT" OF THE PREPARED "SENSATION" VERY LITTLE IS NEEDED: AN EXPERIENCED ANTI-SOVIET PEN IF THE MATTER CONCERNS AN ARTICLE FOR THE PRESS, A CONSIDERED DIRECTOR'S DECISION AND AN ANNOUNCER'S TEXT FOR A RADIO OR A TELEVISION PROGRAM.

I, as a journalist, also write on legal subjects and had attended court proceedings more than once and familiarized myself with materials of criminal cases. In 1978, the Leningrad City Court examined at an open court session a criminal case on removal from the Soviet Union abroad as contraband the most valuable paintings and drawings, ancient icons, coin collections and rare antiques which are property of the Russian national culture. These spiritual values were obtained by hook or by crook--coaxing out of trusting people or buying--by a gang of unscrupulous people, who were motivated by only one passion: a thirst for profit. Each one of them had their own plans for further use of the enormous values, which were appraised not in tens but in hundreds of thousands of rubles. Some thirsted for gain so that they could enjoy a "sweet life" later without working anywhere, others for transporting the values abroad in the form of contraband and then leaving for Israel. And after getting there to live as promised to the Jewish bourgeoisie by Theodor Herzl,

who looked into the future of a Jewish state: "Rich Jews, now forced to hide their treasures and feast with the curtains drawn, will be able to freely enjoy life there."

Among those who dreamed to feast without drawing the curtains was the accused Gutkina, an art critic by education and a member of the USSR Union of Artists. She played a prominent role in the gang of plunderers of the country's property: no one besides her could appreciate the acquired works of art, no one besides her knew who had them and how these people should be approached.

Knowing the creativity of interesting Soviet artist Filonov very well, Gutkina made the acquaintance with his sister and through her also with her niece, who kept many works of her talented relative. After gaining their confidence, the enterprising Geni Borisovna made color slides of the works and secretly forwarded them abroad. As ascertained during the investigation and the trial, this was done purely out of money-making considerations: the people trusted by Gutkina would create a boom around the little known and completely unknown works by the artist in the West and, like at a stock exchange, artificially raise prices for them.

Having no sufficient funds to acquire the works by Filonov, Gutkina undertakes a swindle: finds people who are preparing to leave for Israel and offers them to "share" with her--your money, my "cultivation" of Filonov's relatives. Forwarding of the acquired works abroad would also be her, Gutkina's responsibility. After convincing people, who were completely unacquainted with paintings, that (I am quoting Geni Borisovna's testimony word for word) "Filonov is above Malevich and Chagall and that in many ways he predetermined the search in the West's art, I received the first part of money from G.--7,000. He questioned me for a long time, what are the guarantees that the money will be recouped and will not be lost, and I took him to my apartment at that time. Here I showed him "Naturshchitsa" [A Model]--a woman in a turban, which was done in a yellow-brownish key. The realistic manner of this work pleased G., and soon I received R10,000-12,000 more from him. Altogether he turned over nearly R30,000 to me with which I acquired 11 works by Filonov: "Abstraktnaya kompozitsiya" [Abstract Composition], "Pereselentsy" [Resettlers] and "Oktyabr'" [October] and watercolors "Ryba" [A Fish], "Golova" [A Head], "Baba" [An Old Woman], "Peyzazh" [A Landscape], "Atlanty" [The Atlantes] and others."

From the testimony of the accused Ye. E. Bravyy of the same criminal group: "We all did not trust each other and rechecked any planned deal. When Yevgeniy Varshavskiy, a brother of my wife, had put his papers in order to leave for Israel via Vienna, we have gathered in my apartment. There was Gutkina, her relative Raisa Rybakova, Varshavskiy and I. Once again there was a business conversation about who will receive what from that which was already forwarded to Vienna and is kept there until our arrival. Varshavskiy was supplied with the necessary addresses and Gutkina asked him to extend his stay in Vienna and to thoroughly check, without attracting attention, if the people entrusted by us are not squandering that which they received in the form of contraband."

There is no need to describe in more detail the further peripeties of this criminal case and the lying by the renegades and the dregs, who are ready to



sell their motherland either wholesale or retail, and their cynical revelations. Like in life and in "business" relations with each other, they all lied and twisted and turned during the court proceedings and shifted their blame on others. They did not sin against the truth only in one respect--in the fact that Israeli shekels, American dollars, West German marks and English pounds sterling have veiled the life from them with a dark blanket.

Gutkina and her accomplices received what they deserved. However, I have recalled this court proceeding far from accidentally. Lately, Gutkina's name is being bent more frequently and tiresomely by various radio voices of the West. Appeals in her defense, seasoned in an anti-Soviet spirit, with slanderous fabrications about Soviet legal proceedings were found during a customs inspection of Zionist emissaries.

The Zionists have also found false witnesses who solemnly swore that Gutkina supposedly was not a plunderer of art values of the Soviet Union but an innocent victim, a "victim of the Soviet regime." One of them, who left for Israel but has since settled in the American city of San Antonio, is Raisa Rybakova. The same relative of Gutkina who testified during the court trial. The other one is a former resident of Leningrad, who is referred to by radio voices of the West as a "well-known artist," Yakov Vin'kovetskiy, who also settled in the United States and found temporary employment in the Esso Company.

At the prompting of Zionist directors of anti-Soviet actions, the false witnesses have spared no tears for the "unjustly and inhumanely accused Gutkina, a well-known art critic who has left a noticeable mark on the cultural history of Leningrad." In one of its programs in July 1982, the Voice of America, mouthing Rybakova and Vin'kovetskiy, shamelessly lies by stating that Gutkina "was not motivated by a thirst for profit, as asserted by the Soviet means of mass information, but by a wish to preserve the works of art collected by her."

SO EVERYTHING IS UPSIDE DOWN! TO FORWARD CONTRABAND ABROAD; TO ARRANGE IN ADVANCE WITH CRIMINAL COMPANIONS THE CONDITIONS OF SHARING; AND TO SET PRICES, BASED ON WHICH THE PEOPLE ENTRUSTED BY GUTKINA WOULD BE ABLE TO SELL PAINTINGS AND ICONS IN HER ABSENCE--ALL THESE MACHINATIONS, IT TURNS OUT, ARE NOTHING ELSE BUT A STRIVING TO "PRESERVE THE WORKS OF ART."

THOUSANDS OF ART LOVERS AND CONNOISSEURS IN OUR COUNTRY HAVE THE RICHEST COLLECTIONS OF PAINTINGS, WATERCOLORS AND ANTIQUE COLLECTIONS OF MUSEUM VALUE. A PART OF THEM ARE PASSED FROM ONE GENERATION TO ANOTHER AND A PART, ACCORDING TO GOOD AND NOBLE WILL OF THE COLLECTORS, IS TURNED OVER FOR PUBLIC VIEWING IN MUSEUMS. IN CASE OF NECESSITY, THE STATE MANIFESTS CONCERN EVEN ABOUT ALLOCATING ADDITIONAL AND FREE LIVING SPACE TO A COLLECTOR, WHICH IS NEEDED FOR BETTER AND RELIABLE PRESERVATION OF THE COLLECTED WORKS OF ART.

Do the "lawyers" abroad of criminal Gutkina know about this? Of course, they know. However, our actual reality is nothing to them. All means are good enough when it is necessary to discredit it and to organize a regular ideological sabotage against the socialist state.



This is the way the anti-Soviet "sensations" are born. This is the way the forgeries are fabricated. This is the way in which a myth is forced upon millions of ill-informed people about persecution of Jews in the USSR only because of their nationality.

A characteristic feature of such "canard-sensations" is raising the "persecuted" and the "outcasts in the Soviet Union" to the rank of "brilliant," "talented" and in the worse case "well-known writers, artists, actors and director..." In resorting to such falsification, the Zionist propaganda attempts to kill not two but three birds with one stone. In referring to some conceited mediocrity or a person with extremely modest abilities as "talented," "well-known" and so forth, the Zionist "defenders of human rights in the USSR" are attempting to make it understood that as if people in our country are not valued for their true merits, that they can gain true recognition only in the "free world" and, finally, that they have to make a choice: to remain as "social outcasts" in the Soviet Union or to leave it.

I questioned many Leningrad artists, who knew Gutkina through her work in the artistic fund. What did she do as a "well-known art critic" and what kind of a "noticeable mark" did she make on the cultural life in Leningrad? The answers were synonymous: no one has ever seen a single research paper or an article by her in a journal or a newspaper; she did not value but appraised works of art: to buy cheaply, to sell for a higher price.

It was much more difficult to make inquiries about the "well-known Leningrad artist" Yakov Vin'kovetskiy. His name is not listed in any address directory of the USSR Union of Artists. Leningrad artists of various generations also do not recall him. "Perhaps he was a beginning talent," I persisted, "but passed by attention of his colleagues and critics?" They recalled some people like that, but were unable to "rake out" Vin'kovetskiy even from the remotest nooks of their memories. Later, I was able to learn that Vin'kovetskiy had lived in Leningrad, he is a mining engineer by education, an amateur-artist, has done a few paintings. Judging by everything, even the "free world" failed to uncover a talent of artist in him. Otherwise Vin'kovetskiy would not subsist in the United States on part-time employment in the Esso firm, which is engaged in servicing motor vehicles.

In December 1981, at the invitation of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace an Israeli delegation, which also included Knesset deputy from the Ma'arakh bloc Rabbi Menachem Hakohen, visited Moscow and Leningrad. After returning to Israel he shared his impressions of the trip with a correspondent of the journal ISRAEL TODAY. In particular, the correspondent was interested: "Did you have an opportunity to meet with Jews who wish to leave the Soviet Union?"

"Yes, no one interfered with us," the rabbi answered. "I went to meet them, they came to our hotel. We have talked with individual persons and with groups, and have seen each other during the day, in the evening and at night..."

It is to the rabbi's credit that in his response to this question he did not let himself to be placed under the thumb of Zionist propaganda. If it was

otherwise, he would have been forced to assert (as it usually happens with Zionist emissaries) that he met with Soviet Jews only secretly and that in the USSR just for "a conversation in ancient Hebrew one can be thrown into prison."

But perhaps this is nothing but a propaganda method of the Zionist journal, which published the interview: to cover a greater lie about the "lawless situation of Jews in the USSR" with a bit of truth? That dirty, unpardonable lie, those facts turned upside down by corresponding commentaries and those pieces of gossip and rumors which are presented as true events and without which not a single Zionist ideological diversion against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries can manage.

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## NATIONAL

### BAGIROV, FEDOSEYEV AT CONFERENCE ON NATIONALITY RELATIONS

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 7 Dec 83 pp 1-2

[Speeches by Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary K. M. Bagirov and USSR Academy of Sciences Vice President Academician P. N. Fedoseyev: "Topical Problems of National Relations. All-Union Scientific-Practical Conference in Baku"]

[Text] In perfecting developed socialism in the multinational Land of the Soviets enormous importance attaches to interrelationships among socialist nations, friendship, brotherhood, and collaboration among peoples, close alliance and moral-political unity. The unshakeable foundation of such a monolithic solidarity is further steady social-economic and cultural development, rapprochement among the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union. In his report "Sixty Years of the USSR" at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov emphasized the special importance and ongoing significance to Soviet society of a well-thought-out, scientifically substantiated national policy, instilling in people a shared Soviet patriotism, sentiments of a single family.

Topical problems of national relations are the focus of attention of participants in the All-Union Scientific-Practical Conference "Dialectics of the National and the International in the Spiritual World of Soviet Man." It is significant that Baku was chosen for the conference--a city of remarkable internationalist traditions, the capital city of Soviet Azerbaijan, whose socialist innovation and magnificent social-economic accomplishments constitute convincing proof of the triumph of the wise Leninist nationality policy, the logical resolution of the national question in the USSR. The conference, which began work on 6 December in the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences, is being participated in by eminent Soviet scientists--historians, economists, ethnographers, linguists, psychologists, and demographers, party, soviet, and trade union workers, a large group of leaders of Komsomol organizations of the union republics, krays, and oblasts, education workers, and representatives of publishing houses, the press, television, and radio.

In the presidium are Comrades K. M. Bagirov, G. A. Gasanov, V. N. Konovalov, and D. M. Muslim-zade; USSR Academy of Sciences Vice President Academician P. N. Fedoseyev; CPSU Central Committee officer V. A. Georgiyev; Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman F. G. Akhmedov; Academician Yu. V. Bromley, chairman of the Science Council on Nationality Problems in the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium Social Sciences Section; Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee department heads A. F. Dashdamirov and R. D. Mamedov; Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences President and USSR Academy of Sciences

Corresponding Member G. B. Abdullayev; heads of republic ministries and departments; and scholars and social scientists from Moscow, Leningrad, and the union republics.

The conference was opened by Academician Yu. V. Bromley, chairman of the Science Council for on Nationality Problems in the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium Social Sciences Section.

The floor was turned over to Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary K. M. Bagirov.

#### Speech by Comrade K. M. Bagirov

Dear comrades!

The shaping of the new man, his all-round, harmonious development, is one of the most vital program goals of the communist party. The mighty economic, social, and spiritual potential of developed socialism, all means of indoctrination and education, ideology, and propaganda are directed toward attainment of this goal. A special role is played by Soviet science, which is called upon to explore comprehensively and in depth the tendencies and laws governing the shaping and development of the socialist individual, to seek out and realize all of our society's inherent capabilities for social and spiritual progress, for perfecting the conditions and content of the life and labor of Soviet people.

And we are gratified that Baku, the capital city of our republic, is the place of gathering of eminent scientists and specialists dealing with the national question, problems of the individual. Along with scientists in this auditorium there are writers, composers, and artists. We may say that here are represented all trends of ideological endeavor which the party has mapped out as the vital front in the struggle for communism.

Allow me, dear comrades, in the name of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the republic government to warmly and heartily welcome to the land of Azerbaijan the participants in the All-Union Scientific-Practical Conference "Dialectics of the National and the International in the Spiritual World of Soviet Man" and wish all of you fruitful work, new, creative successes, and great accomplishments.

Evocative of profound satisfaction is the participation in the work of the conference by USSR Academy of Sciences Vice President Petr Nikolayevich Fedoseyev. An outstanding Soviet scientist who has made a noteworthy contribution to the study of philosophical problems of our time, Petr Nikolayevich is giving invaluable help to the development of the social sciences in all the fraternal republics, including Soviet Azerbaijan. The participation of Academician P. N. Fedoseyev in this conference is certainly a new manifestation for the concern shown by the main center of Soviet science--the USSR Academy of Sciences--for the study of the most important, topical, long-range problems of social science. We express our appreciation to Petr Nikolayevich



for coming to Azerbaijan and taking part in the conference which, we are certain, will provide a new impulse to the development of the social sciences in our republic.

We are gratified by the attention paid to the all-union conference by the CPSU Central Committee Department of Science and Educational Institutions, represented here by Central Committee officer Vladimir Anatol'yevich Georgiyev. We are grateful to the Department of Science and Educational Institutions for the constant attention and help provided to the republic in developing science, education, and instruction.

The work of our conference is being participated in by secretaries of Komsomol central committees of the union republics, kraykoms, and obkoms. This is only logical, for internationalist and patriotic indoctrination of young people is one of the most important factors in the shaping of the new man, the active builder of communism. We are grateful to the Komsomol Central Committee for its lively interest in the organization and conduct of the scientific-practical conference, and we trust that the recommendations drawn up here will yield practical results in the internationalist and patriotic indoctrination of young people, the shaping of their active life stance.

The main organizer of our conference is the Science Council for National Problems in the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium Social Sciences Section. Headed by Academician Yulian Vladimirovich Bromley, the eminent Soviet scientist and director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Ethnography, the council plays a vital role in organizing and conducting the study of national and international processes in the era of developed socialism, and in publishing fundamental works on these matters. Also prominent among its activities is the holding of all-union conferences on these questions. We are deeply grateful to the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium and the Council on Nationality Problems for again choosing as the venue of such a representative conference the capital city of Soviet Azerbaijan, a city of glorious revolutionary, internationalist, and labor traditions. Baku has always set high examples of proletarian internationalism in action, the enormous creative power of the friendship and brotherhood of peoples which exalts the man of labor.

In addition to scientists, participants in the conference include cultural figures, practical ideological workers, and party, Komsomol and trade union workers. Such a combination of workers in science and culture, those who work on the problems of the individual and those who organize ideological endeavors and the indoctrination of people, especially the rising generation, can and surely must enrich both theory and practice, and above all promote broad, comprehensive elucidation of such an endlessly complex and multifaceted problem as the spiritual world of man, the dialectics of his internationalist and national ties and relations.

The ideas and decisions of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the speech delivered there by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman Comrade Yu. V. Andropov are oriented toward just such an approach to the matter, toward the unbreakable link between theory and practice, ideological work and real-life problems. Recent

party documents and the reports of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, especially his "Sixty Years of the USSR," profoundly and scientifically substantiate both current and long-range tasks of nationality policy at the stage of developed socialism and map out the main directions of scientific-theoretical and ideological endeavors in the field of national relations and the patriotic and internationalist indoctrination of the working people. They set forth the tasks of the study of a broad-range system of national relations--from the inter-republic to the individual level, from the sphere of economics to psychology, from planning and forecasting to the practical realization of scientific recommendations. Coming more and more to the forefront among these problems is the theme of the individual, its place and role in the development of national relations, in strengthening the friendship and brotherhood of the peoples of the USSR. This is graphically attested by the present conference and its theme, and the lively attention paid to it by such a broad circle of researchers and practical workers of quite varying profile.

The problems which you are to discuss are of great practical importance to society. For they are dictated by the most vital tasks of present-day development of our society--intensification of material production, the country's social and cultural growth, further improvement of the socialist way of life, strengthening of the friendship and brotherhood of the peoples of the USSR, and consolidation of the internationalist unity of that new historic community--the Soviet people. Of special importance today are rapidly ongoing processes of labor cooperation among socialist nations and nationalities, their exchange of material and spiritual values, rapprochement and mutual influence of national cultures. These processes fill the spiritual world of Soviet man with rich content and make his life full and multifaceted.

The Soviet state has gained truly unique experience in the internationalist commonwealth of dozens of nations and nationalities, national and ethnic groups. This experience has enriched and continues to enrich the world-historic experience of the revolutionary, national-liberation movement, and it will be subject to considered analysis and concrete research.

The experience and gains of the Land of the Soviets are made up of the accomplishments of all regions and republics. Historic gains also mark the path of the Azerbaijani people in the family of the fraternal peoples of the USSR. The accomplishments of Azerbaijan's working people constitute a graphic, concrete realization of the Leninist nationality policy of the communist party, the constant paternal concern of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government. The experience we have gained also merits scientists' attention and requires serious generalization.

Soviet Azerbaijan is a multinational republic which represents a unified and consolidated internationalist collective of working people. The Azerbaijan Communist Party, true to Leninist precepts and principles of proletarian internationalism, is systematically implementing the nationality policy of the Leninist party and conducting considerable, multifaceted work in the internationalist and patriotic indoctrination of the working people.

We will strive to see to it that these efforts encompass all spheres of life, from the economic to the spiritual. In their practical work, the republic's

party organizations take account of the multinational structure of the population and manifest concern for the economic and social-cultural development of all the nationalities, as well as their active participation in our social-political life, unfailingly keeping to the internationalist line in cadre policy by selecting and placing cadres on the basis of the national makeup of the population. An important component of this work is the expansion and deepening of production-economic, social-political, and cultural ties between the Azerbaijani people, the working people of our republic, and all the fraternal peoples of the country, especially the Great Russian people. The main aim and effort of the republic's communists is to strengthen the working people's internationalist convictions and internationalist life stance, their consciousness and feeling of belonging to the single great Soviet people. This is a large and multifaceted effort. And a prominent role must be played by the republic's social scientists, who are called upon to study national and internationalist processes taking place at the present stage, to analyze and generalize the rich experience of economic and cultural construction, confirming in practice the norms and principles of socialist internationalism.

Another point. In all its organizational-political and ideological work the Azerbaijan Communist Party proceeds on the basis that the shaping of the new man is not just a most important goal but also an essential condition of communist construction, universal confirmation of the Leninist style of work--a style that is businesslike, creative, innovative, and infused with high ideals--a condition of affirming an uncompromising stance toward everything sluggish and contradictory to the norms of socialist morality and the collectivist way of life. The experience gained by Azerbaijan's communists attests that uncompromising struggle against negative phenomena, vestiges of the private-property mentality, philistine morality, backward and outmoded traditions and customs, not only serves to radically clean up the moral-psychological climate and the moral-political atmosphere but also strengthens the internationalist spirit prevailing in our republic.

The June CPSU Central Committee Plenum called for organic linkage between scientific studies and practical needs. Ideological work must be based on substantiated recommendations corresponding to the latest word in scientific findings. This is one of the most important conditions for efficacious and effective indoctrinational and mass-political work. It is this position that we proceed from in evaluating the timeliness and theoretical and ideological significance of the problems that are to be discussed at the present conference. It is essential to ensure fuller and more effective influence of national and internationalist factors developing in socialist society on the perfection of the individual. It is essential to ensure that the enormous spiritual riches of the dozens of nations and nationalities of our country maximally serve the cause of the spiritual exaltation of each citizen, regardless of his national affiliation. It is essential, finally, in enhancing the effectiveness of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, to comprehensively raise the labor and political involvement of the citizens of socialist society and more broadly unfurl the historic creativity of the masses.

The distinguishing qualities of Soviet man as a new historic type of individual include a communist conviction and enormous, vital energy, a high

level of culture, abundant knowledge, and the ability to put it to creative use. Among these remarkable qualities, the most important include a fervent patriotism and consequent internationalism. The task is to find more and more new ways and means to perfect these qualities, new forms of mass development of them.

Comrades! Your conference will examine a large and complex range of topical questions of national relations, the spiritual life of Soviet man. Discussion of these matters will undoubtedly enrich scientific endeavors and bring them closer to practical needs. It will help to develop an important new discipline--the study of the problem of the individual in the system of national relations. All the necessary groundwork exists--Marxist-Leninist theory, a vigorous guide to action, to creative endeavors, our party's policies and program directives. And there are highly qualified cadres of scientists and practical workers.

In conclusion, dear comrades, allow me once more to wish you success in your great and important work directed toward the further social and spiritual progress of Soviet man. (Applause).

The next to speak is USSR Academy of Sciences Vice-President Academician P. N. Fedoseyev.

#### Speech by Comrade P. N. Fedoseyev

Esteemed comrades!

In the multinational Soviet state, the question of the correlation of the national and the international in the people's consciousness and way of life is of exceptionally great importance. This must be emphasized especially, because all of our union and autonomous republics which make up the great Soviet Union are multinational. In addition to the native nationality, for example, Azerbaijan is the home of many thousands of Russians, Armenians, Ukrainians, Georgians, Jews, Tatars, Avars, Lezgins, and others.

It seems remarkable to us that this conference, prepared at the initiative of the Science Council on Nationality Problems in collaboration with the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, is taking place in Baku, which has glorious internationalist traditions.

Allow me, on behalf of the USSR Academy of Sciences and its president A. P. Aleksandrov, to welcome the participants of this conference, who have gathered in the hospitable capital city of Azerbaijan, to discuss one of the most topical problems of social development and spiritual life today.

Led by the party organization, the republic's working people achieved significant successes during the 1970s both in the handling of economic tasks and in combining economic activities with broad-ranging ideological work, including work on the internationalist indoctrination of the working people.



Comrade Kiyamran Mamedovich Bagirov's speech presents an impressive picture of major accomplishments by Soviet Azerbaijan in all spheres of life. We heartily congratulate all the republic's communists and citizens on their great labor triumphs.

Today's Azerbaijan is a concrete example of the effectiveness and fruitfulness of the Leninist nationality policy, clear proof of the enormous creative power of the friendship and the fraternal collaboration of the peoples of the USSR.

Internationalism is realized in our everyday life, in the creative labor and daily endeavors of the Soviet people. It is worth noting that people of different nationalities live and work in a friendly and brotherly manner in all oblasts and rayons, in many enterprises and kolkhozes, in many establishments and institutes. They have achieved more and more new successes in socialist construction on the basis of mutual aid.

Mutual respect and mutual trust between people of various nationalities in production and in daily life, fraternal mutual aid among multinational labor collectives, genuine internationalism in human relations--these are the indispensable features of the socialist way of life.

The construction of a developed socialist society in the USSR is a historic achievement by all the peoples of our country, all nations and nationalities. The economy of all the Soviet republics has been enhanced in the friendly family of peoples, and the task of equalizing the levels of their economic development has been basically resolved. In our mature socialist society a unified national-economic complex is being developed successfully, created through the joint efforts of all peoples of the USSR.

Soviet people of various national affiliation are joined by the unity of their spiritual life, their shared world-view orientations and Soviet socialist culture. The shared internationalist culture of all the socialist nations incorporates the best progressive accomplishments and values of each of the national cultures. The contribution made by each nation and nationality to the shared Soviet culture grows steadily as their national socialist cultures develop.

In this republic's history, literature, and arts museums, its theaters and concert halls, its rug exhibit, we can see the remarkable accomplishments of the artistic creations of the Azerbaijani people from ancient times to the present day. It is important to note that the works of literary and artistic geniuses clearly reflect the spiritual world of the new man, the ideals of friendship and collaboration among peoples.

A vital link in internationalist communion and solidarity is Soviet science, which is developed highly in all our republics. The republic academies of sciences stand alongside the all-union academy as objects of national and shared Soviet pride. I take the opportunity here to acknowledge the great contribution made by Azerbaijan's scientists toward the development of Soviet science and technology.

The internationalist and the national in the consciousness and way of life of the Soviet people--these are not two separate and isolated principles. The national is embodied in the internationalist, and on the other hand the internationalist is manifested in the life of each socialist nation and nationality.

A person who ignores national traditions and characteristics cannot be an internationalist. By the same token, no one can be a patriot who underrates or disparages internationalist tasks and the shared interests of the working people.

Anyone who considers himself an internationalist but ignores national interests and characteristics is no internationalist at all but a cosmopolite. Anyone who separates patriotism from internationalism inevitably slides toward national exclusiveness and nationalism.

Shared Soviet patriotic pride and love for one's own nation, one's own republic, are organically merged in Soviet patriotism. In this way, Soviet patriotism is internationalist in essence, for it is based on the principles of friendship among peoples and international solidarity.

With the growth of social homogeneity of all nations and nationalities in a developed socialist society on the basis of systematic rapprochement of socialist classes and social groups, processes of internationalization of all social life become stronger. On this basis there is an ongoing process of further rapprochement and comprehensive collaboration among all Soviet peoples, a strengthening of unshakeable fraternal friendship. Under conditions of mature socialism, at the same time, there is an acceleration of processes of all-round development of socialist nations, their culture, all their potential is revealed, necessary conditions are created for full flourishing of the national. Moreover, all-round flourishing of the various nations on the basis of implementation of the Leninist nationality policy leads not to separation but to increasingly closer unification. Such are the dialectics of national and international relations in a society of developed socialism, moving along the path toward communism.

Naturally, the unity of the national and the inter-national has come about at a high level of social-political and ideological unity of society, namely the stage of developed socialism. At this stage the ideals and goals of the working class become the ideals and goals of all the people, class interests merge with those of all the people.

While remaining the party of the working class, the CPSU becomes the party of the whole people. As a new historic community, the Soviet people embodies the social and internationalist unity of peoples of all nationalities.

It is wrong, however, to ignore the fact that vestiges of presocialist attitudes in people's consciousness and way of life are frequently manifested in national exclusivity and arrogance, in ethnic prejudices and superstitions. And we cannot for a moment forget the hostile activities of the imperialist centers which are striving to inflame nationalist prejudices and undermine

the friendship and collaboration of our peoples. The CPSU focuses unflagging attention on strengthening the friendship and collaboration of peoples of all nationalities, on strengthening socialist internationalism.

In this connection it is essential to step up the propagandizing of the accomplishments of socialism in resolving the national question, to demonstrate more fully and concretely the great benefits that Soviet rule has brought to the peoples. It is justly said that comparison is an intelligible and convincing proof. We are all gratified and thrilled (as are our friends abroad) by the accomplishments of the peoples of the national republics of the Land of the Soviets, whether Azerbaijanis or Armenians, Turkmens, Uzbeks or Tadzhiks. But we are aware of the harsh fate that befell their kinsmen who wound up on lands of neighboring bourgeois and feudal states as a result of wars of invasion or the arbitrary drawing of frontiers. Our peoples recognize and are aware of their luck in living and working in the Land of the Soviets, under the sun of socialism, and bless fate that they did not wind up outside the socialist state.

Continuing the comparison, let us recall that not too long ago millions of Belorussians, Ukrainians, and Moldavians suffered in the grip of injustice and poverty, under the rule of Polish lords, Czechoslovak magnates, and Romanian boyars. The liberation of our fellow countrymen and the reuniting of fraternal peoples of the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Moldavia enabled these new Soviet citizens in 3 or 4 decades to rise to the heights of developed socialist society, to the all-union level of economy and culture.

The same thing can be said of the Baltic peoples who were torn away from the Soviet homeland during the difficult years of the Civil War and foreign intervention and wound up depending on world capital. The victory of the masses of the people over the bourgeois-landowner forces and the establishment of Soviet rule in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia in 1940 led to the natural consequence of voluntary entry of these republics into the USSR. With the fraternal help of all our peoples, the Soviet Baltic republics rapidly made up for lost time, overcame their former backwardness and, despite enormous losses due to the invasion of the fascist barbarians, emerged in the postwar years in advanced positions of socialist construction.

Historical experience has shown convincingly that the internationalism of socialist states in internal policies is organically continued in internationalist foreign policies, with regard to the fraternal socialist countries and the liberation movement of the world's working people. The Soviet Union is consistently implementing the Leninist policy of peace and friendship among peoples, policies of international solidarity of the working people and peaceful coexistence of states having different social structures. The peace program worked out and consistently implemented by our party is exerting an enormous influence on activating all peace-loving forces in the struggle against the threat of a new world war, against thermonuclear holocaust.

The whole history of capitalism, especially during its imperialist stage, attests that racism, chauvinism, and the oppression of underprivileged races

and nations within a country go along with great-power, hegemonistic policies in international relations, policies of diktat, robbery, and force, policies of enslavement of other countries and peoples, policies of aggressive wars. It is no accident that the United States has experienced in recent times violent explosions of racism, racial pogroms, and outbreaks of militarism and military hysteria. In both cases, these are the fruits of the reactionary course of action of the present United States administration, which reflects the most extremist strivings of monopolistic capital, especially the military-industrial complex. Now American imperialism has become especially aggressive, having embarked on an unrestrained arms race and preparations for a "limited," "prolonged" nuclear war, subjecting the world to the catastrophic danger of the destruction of civilization and most of mankind.

By means of military force and the threat of using it, Washington and its allies are undertaking attempts to reverse the course of history at any price, to halt the growing process of social renovation of the world, to preserve or expand positions of state-monopolistic capital on all continents. Convulsed by internal contradictions and antagonisms, imperialism is seeking a way out via confrontation and conflict.

For the sake of accomplishing imperial goals and establishing world hegemony, the ruling circles of the United States are expanding their military presence in various regions of the world, and are interfering (including the use of armed force) in the internal affairs of other states and peoples.

A special danger to peace in Europe and throughout the world is posed by the deployment, which is already under way, of new medium-range American nuclear rockets in a number of Western European countries.

The attitudes of the Soviet Union and all the Soviet people, including Soviet scientists, toward the reckless acts of the United States and its NATO allies, is spelled out in detail by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman Yu. V. Andropov's Declaration, which is supported and endorsed by all the people. "The Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist commonwealth," Comrade Yu. V. Andropov emphasizes, "cannot ignore the fact that Washington has declared a 'crusade' against socialism as a social system and that those who have now given the order to deploy new nuclear weapons near the threshold of our homeland are structuring their practical policies on this irrational premise."

Our country is undertaking all the necessary measures to ensure the security of the USSR and our allies. Any hopes of the United States to achieve military superiority over the USSR are in vain. Our country will not stand unarmed in the face of any threat.

Nevertheless, as Yu. V. Andropov emphasized, the Soviet Union remains dedicated to the principled course of halting the arms race, especially nuclear weapons, toward reducing and eventually completely eliminating the threat of nuclear war. The Soviet Union will continue to bend every effort to achieve these noble goals.



This, comrades, is fully in keeping with the principles of internationalism, the interests of all mankind.

In conclusion, permit me to express heartfelt gratitude to Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary K. M. Bagirov for the invitation and for the attention paid to the conference, for active participation in preparing and conducting this scientific forum. On behalf of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium I wish the participants in the conference fruitful work. (Applause).

Papers at the plenary session were given by Academician Yu. V. Bromley--"National Aspects of the Spiritual Life of the Individual in Historical Perspective"; Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Department of Propaganda and Agitation Head and Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member A. F. Dashdamirov--"The Problem of the Individual in the Marxist-Leninist Theory of Nations and National Relations"; Dr of Philosophical Sciences E. A. Bagramov, chairman of the Section of Internationalist Indoctrination of Youth in the Komsomol Central Committee Social Council of Scientific Research--"Internationalist Indoctrination of Soviet Man and the Ideological Struggle"; USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of USSR History Director Dr of Historical Sciences S. S. Khromov--"The Role of Historical Science in the Patriotic and Internationalist Indoctrination of Youth"; Uzbek Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and Law Director Dr of Philosophical Sciences K. Kh. Khanazarov--"Interaction of Cultures of the Peoples of the USSR Under Developed Socialism"; and Dr of Historical Sciences I. G. Groshev, deputy head of the CPSU History Department in the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences--"Problems of Marxist-Leninist Methodology in the Internationalist Indoctrination of the Working People."

The work of the conference is continuing.

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## NATIONAL

### WRITER RASPUTIN DENIES 'RUSSIAN THREAT'

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Nov 83 p 2

[A. Porvatov, Irkusk: "The Value of Our Ideas: A discussion with USSR State Prize Laureate, Valentin Rasputin"]

[Text] [Question] Valentin Grigoryevich, recently Reaganist propaganda has been raising the bugaboo of a "Soviet threat" or more often a "Russian threat," trying to show that Russian aggression, they say, has historical precedence. Along this line, for example, they recall the so-called "Conquest of Siberia" by Yermak! What do you, a native Siberian, think about this?

[Answer] It is senseless to seriously respond to such things. But the fact that Western propaganda is successful in sowing the belief in this fable in some people, nonetheless, are circumstances to prick one's ears up.

'Yermak--a conqueror'? Let us actually recall history. According to the Stroganov chronicles, Yermak began his march with a handful of courageous men against Khuchum Khan who at that time was proclaiming himself ruler of Siberia. The Khan mercilessly robbed Siberian inhabitants, collecting tribute from the Khanty, Mansi, Yakut and many other peoples. He dreamed of returning the former grandeur of the hordes when all of Europe feared their sabers. It is now difficult to imagine what miracle helped Yermak's small band to make the historic and legendary dagger-like thrust into the hoard's domain and inflict a shattering blow to Kuchum's khanate.

All the same it is difficult to call this a conquest of Siberia. One must sooner talk about the assimilation of Siberia by peasant-ploughmen who came to free land. This was a gigantic, unheard of assimilation of virgin lands by peasants from the Russian North, (people who went there were primarily from Russian North).

But if anything deserves amazement, it's the fact that in less than half a century, without maps and relying on folktales, the Russians passed through all of Siberia and the entire acursed distances, and washed their faces in the Pacific waters. Also, a primitive opinion is still around that sable was the primary stimulus for crossing this wild taiga territory. Well, that isn't so. The main stimulus was that the peasants sensed that these were free lands, without barins. And so they made them livable working

tirelessly, feeling that the new place would become a dear, familiar and Russian place.

Siberia has the ability not to amaze, not to surprise someone immediately, to draw one slowly toward itself, as if unwilling to do so, but with a proved assuredness. And having drawn you in, binds you fast. A person is infected by Siberia. Elsewhere and after leaving this land, a person feels crowded, sad and mournful; he is always burdened by the agonizing and vague inadequacies of himself, as if, he forever leaves a part of himself in Siberia.

It is no accident that it was precisely here in Siberia that for two centuries running the Russian people sought the mysterious Belovodye, the legendary country built like an earthly paradise, where they could begin to live in complete happiness. Perhaps our ancestors did find this legendary country here. If people brought here their fellow countrymen from Russia, if they began to build and plow, that meant that something unique and extraordinary was in these places, something that compelled them to look at the lands with blessed hope.

One can say that not only history but also fate itself has preordained that Siberia become Russian.

In the centuries spent in Siberia, the Russian man became Siberian. And now, we say that there is a concept of such a thing as a Siberian character. The Siberian land keeps well the traditions and national traits in people's nature.

What is this Russian character? What does it consist of? Maybe an ancient drive to create? To freely plow, to sow, to build roads and bridges, to erect factories and new cities? I think that most likely this inclination of my countrymen, more than anything else, is hated by the overseas masters.

[Question] Let's recall the history of world literature. How many of the great masters of the past spoke out against bloodshed and war! But time has passed and wars have become even more terrible and bloody. And now we are once again threatened by a war, but it is a war that could end with a general human catastrophe. Do you not, as an artist, have the sensation that a writer's voice speaking out for peace is indeed a "voice crying in the wilderness"?

[Answer] The role of literature is not to change the world, but to change man. And then man, changed for the better, will change the world for the better. Of course, to some degree one can say that the effects of literature and art in the struggle for peace seem minimal, since aggressor-politicians who are trying to change the course of history today, as a rule don't know artistic literature. It is possible that they read it, but don't understand it. The word doesn't reach them.

But today, when the question of whether or not there will be peace has come up, one can not rely only on the efforts of a word. Therefore, probably

every honest writer must participate first-hand in the struggle for peace. There is indeed no task more important than preserving peace. If we preserve it, it will mean there will be a future perspective. It means that more than ever a writer must turn to social and political journalism and speak out from the pub's platform.

Last year I went to Western Europe to the international "Writers for Peace-Limits and Capabilities" forum, and saw how the Germans are struggling for peace. The trip exactly coincided with Reagan's visit to Europe. We stayed in the small town of Straden on the Dutch border. It was a small, prosperous town, but it was the setting for a statement by champions of peace. In a small square there were youth, home-made placards, and signs protesting Reagan's policies. And then in Bonn and Köln we felt still more clearly the anxiety of ordinary Germans about the future. And we understood that not only journalism but also literature in a wide sense prepared such a massive movement. It is an interesting matter to interpret it and investigate it thoroughly. Or the women's movement in England. For it did not just spring up, nor merely occur spontaneously. And thinking about this, I want to say that today everyone must contribute in the battle for the future of our children.

[Question] Imperialism is trying with all its might to force us to compete in the arms race. The present state demands better organization, discipline and diligence from the Soviet people, and certainly a lot depends on the ideological-moral condition of the Soviet man and his spiritual capacity which is also formed by literature.

[Answer] Time is urging us to work better, to be more organized. And we still have a lot of resources. But this certainly doesn't mean that we want to arm ourselves. Now about morality. One can often hear that in the 50's or 40's there were more straight forward, open, honest and conscientious people—now, it is said, we have lost a lot. Certainly, here one must separate the concept of morality and I would arbitrarily do that in this way. There is morality of necessity, during grave national crises, and there is morality of each person's free choice, during good living and working conditions. It is probably still this way. Today we often argue about morality and already this concept is being trivialized. But this 'profiteering' always stems from a shortage. This is a direct law! But it is better not to wait and expect that morality will be elevated by necessity; it is more worthwhile to work on bettering morality through free choice. But this isn't all. Certainly it is good when people live better and when the table is more abundant. But satiety doesn't lead to high morals. But on the other hand, if we pull the belt a little tighter, it is unlikely to be a stimulus for elevating morality. Morality must be elevated by some other means entirely. One must prepare people, rear them on certain spiritual reference points that are constant and stable. A man who loses his ideals is then lost himself. We must elevate the value of ideals! In recent times hope has appeared. If only this were not just a campaign, but a permanent policy.



The problems of moral education are unquestionably getting a lot of attention at home. Literature and journalism are devoted to it. So many articles are written on this subject! I would call this moral information rather than moral education. And it is good that we have such information aimed at the reader and viewer. In the West such information is also absent. No articles on moral and ethical themes. It is very good that we have such publications and that similar problems are aired; It is in this way that we differ from Western journalism. But moral education, for the most part is the task of literature. And here lies the huge debt of the world's writers to their readers. Of course, it isn't easy for literature; there is a multitude of different currents and there are contradictions between the artists. Yes, in our era literature is closing ranks with motion pictures, television and the theater, but literature has many more opportunities. I think that, and I hope theater and movie workers forgive me, that in issues of moral education through the creative word, the first, the elementary and the starting point belongs to the voice of literature. The word rings out stronger today, perhaps stronger than in the past.

[Question] Have you found mutual understanding while meeting with foreign colleagues and discussing with them today's vital questions, for example, at the "Writers for Peace--Limits and Capabilities" forum?

[Answer] It is precisely at such meetings, at the formal talks that one finds understanding. Lack of understanding exists in the details, in personal intercourse. For we all are people with our own tastes, attachments and weaknesses. But on the main issue we are together.

The natural state of man is the same almost everywhere, with the same vital aspirations and inquiries. And only in relying on the expectations of the common working man, and on popular expectations, and expressing them as our party is doing, can peace be preserved. In my opinion, the simple truth is in this and not in the mystery of political forces of the 'powers' that be."

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CSO: 1900/181

## NATIONAL

### 'REGIONAL SPECIFIC' IDEOLOGICAL PROGRAMS URGED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ZHIZN' in Russian 13 Oct 83 pp 1-2

[Article by D. Ol'shanskiy, candidate of psychological sciences, and N. Yarlykova, candidate of philosophical sciences: "Ideological Work and the Culture of the Countryside" under the rubric "Creative Contributions"]

[Excerpts] The June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum emphasized: "Shaping and elevating man's intellectual needs, actively influencing the ideological-political and moral image of the individual--this is a most important mission of socialist culture. One of the principal traits of the individual in our society is his work activism and social activism, the desire to make his own particular contribution to the common cause of building socialism. 'His own,' depending on the locality in which he lives and the job entrusted to him."

A high artistry and idealism are the general task of developing culture in the entire country. But there also exist specific features that depend on the individual's place of residence and work. They should be considered in order to strengthen the ideological-educational function of culture.

The means of influencing people culturally are not neutral. They inculcate in man a particular attitude toward life, an actively influencing his behavior, which produces various social consequences.

Behind the migration to town from country stands a multiplicity of various social and economic factors. But there is one socio-cultural--so to speak--factor which has played a far from minor role in such a mass migration from the countryside to the cities. It is, as it seems to us, the influence exerted on cultural consumers by certain trends in the arts. For example, at one time the film "The Bright Path" elaborated ideas affirming the great significance of the city and the meaning of urban life. And it was not only this picture that indirectly contributed to a decline in the prestige of rural work and of the meaning of rural life. In the area of many categories of peoples many artistic works present the city as the best place to live in.

...Today in Kalinin Oblast there are villages in which not a single able-bodied person has remained. As a result, 600,000 hectares of former plowland are becoming overgrown with shrubs and weeds. In Belorussia quite a few villages have also been declared "unpromising" for various reasons and clearly with the same consequences.

Of course, it cannot be claimed that the cinema is the principal cause of this phenomenon. It is simply that today we are discussing the ideological function of culture. Now that function consists in making people aware of, and perpetuating in their awareness, certain norms of life and values and models of behavior. When propagandized on the screen, they sometimes become the motive power of human behavior, imbuing human lives with meaning.

It turned out that strengthening the ideological function of culture requires refining cultural management at the regional level. The aspects of that management are complex and specific. By contrast, at the national level the requirements are clear, commonly known and...sometimes too general, being "universal" for all regions. However, the conditions of life vary from one region to another. It is these differences that place their imprint on the norms and values common to all. For example, the particular tasks facing Siberia obviously cause the patterns of behavior as well as norms and values being propagandized among its population to be somewhat different from their universal Union-wide counterparts. In addition to the propaganda of general norms and values, carried on by cultural means, special emphasis on the specificity of each region is needed. The implementation of particular social-economic tasks requires a corresponding upbringing of people. To this also are linked differences in cultural development.

Essentially, a threefold task has to be accomplished. The party leadership defines the content and local specificity of culture, its ideological aspect. The branch administration should assure the normal functioning of the mechanism itself--of mass cultural institutions. And lastly, the heads of these institutions should assure the process of, so to speak, delivering cultural values to the population.

Unfortunately, not all cultural workers as yet have grasped the nature of such a system of management. They display a certain willfulness in their activities and tend toward the planned-commercial side. Up to 40 percent of club staffs believe that the basis of the activities of rural clubs should be the presentation of films selected, as a rule, because of attractive titles or money-making expectations. An additional 30 percent want to accomplish something new and original but cannot, for one reason or another, so that for them too the problem reduces to film rentals. As for the ideological-educational tasks of cultural institutions, they identify them with lectures of the kind provided by the "Znaniye" [Knowledge] Society. As known, they conduct double-entry bookkeeping, as it were, separately for the clubs (which merely provide the premises) and for the "Znaniye" Society. To many cultural workers this exhausts the ideological possibilities of culture and serves, so to speak, as a saving anchor.

This entails a contradiction between the objective conditions of the activities of cultural institutions (economic-organizational support, personnel, facilities, material resources, etc.) and their activities themselves, the forms which they assume with allowance for the growing needs of people. Strengthening the ideological function of culture in the countryside requires both definite material expenditures and qualitative improvements in the forms of expression and ideological content.

But the decisive role here is played by personnel. Unfortunately, the picture in this respect, too, is unfavorable. Thus, until recently only 1.5 percent of cultural workers in Altay Kray had a higher specialized educational background. It turns out that culture can be administered by railroad engineers, physicists and retired military personnel.

In view of this, how can it be surprising that our surveys revealed that up to two-thirds of "grassroots" cultural workers in the countryside have only the remotest idea of the ideological tasks of culture. In the best case, they mentioned direct propaganda--book exhibits, photographic exhibitions, lectures. In the worst case, they reduced culture to recreation and entertainment. Some mentioned pure "enlightenment." And it was only a rare few who mentioned real ideological-educational influencing of people. The middle-level administrators of cultural institutions were more competent in those questions, but even so only not more than 50 percent of these respondents displayed a clear understanding of the ideological-educational tasks of culture. As for the remainder, they either identified culture with propaganda or isolated it from ideology, stressing the entertainment tasks.

The above tendencies point to the existence of a considerable potential for strengthening the ideological function at every point. This concerns the need to develop a kind of programs that should include analyses of specific regional features, the basic norms and values on whose propagation culture should be focused, the structure of management, data on the resource needs of the institutions, the development of ways of making norms and values accessible and, lastly, indicators of influence on human awareness and behavior.

Ready-made organizational forms of implementing programs of this kind already exist. Primarily, they are represented by the scientific-methodological centers or departments under kray, oblast and rayon administrations or divisions of culture. It is precisely the scientific-methodological centers that can orient particular cultural institutions toward implementing the ideological functions of the "cultural propaganda" of the models, norms and values of our ideology.

A leading role in selecting and determining specific regional accents in the ideological activities of cultural institutions belongs to the party leadership and organs of regional administration of culture. As for the coordination of all elements, analysis and formulation of specific recommendations and the monitoring of their implementation--these are duties of the scientific-methodological centers. Such centers should justify their name, which at



present does not occur everywhere and always. They can and should conduct on-site socio-cultural studies and provide specific recommendations.

It appears that only thus can be accomplished the great tasks now facing culture in the countryside.

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## NATIONAL

### ALL-UNION PROPAGANDIST SEMINAR IN TASHKENT OUTLINES PRIORITIES

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 6 Dec 83 p 1

[UzTAG report: "Carry the Party's Mobilizing Word to the Masses"]

[Text] The All-Union Seminar of Political Education House Consultants began its proceedings in Tashkent on 5 December. Its participants include representatives of the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan as well as of a number of oblasts of the RSFSR.

A report on current problems of ideological and mass-political work in the light of the decision of the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee was presented to the seminar participants by P. Ya. Slezko, deputy head of the Propaganda Department of the CPSU Central Committee.

The speaker stressed that ideological and mass-political work is organically linked to the struggle to fulfill the principal national-economic and social-political tasks. Life itself and objective conditions require elevating this work to the level of those great and complex tasks being accomplished by the Soviet people at the present stage of development of the society.

At the CPSU Central Committee Plenum ideological and mass-political work was broadly analyzed. The analysis extended to the driving mechanism of that work and means of making it more effective, and the growing role of ideological work as a means of controlling social processes was demonstrated. The principal criteria and appraisals of that work were defined from the party and class standpoints, and the objective necessity of the social assurance of all such work was stressed. This last imperative was further developed and elaborated in the speech of comrade Yu. V. Andropov at a meeting with party veterans.

At the plenum it was pointed out that a major prerequisite for making ideological work more effective and productive is linking it inseparably and organically to the struggle of working people to fulfill the national-economic plans and social-economic tasks. It is an exceptionally important task to utilize fully and rationally the scientific and production potential generated in this country and to struggle consistently for thrift and conservation.

A reliable material foundation for an efficient and clear organization of indoctrination activities in every work collective is, above all, a highly organized and strenuous rhythm of work. Such an organization of labor affords neither a possibility nor a chance for idleness, renders pilferage impossible and provides the most favorable conditions for implementing the requirements of the law of distribution according to labor. Against this background of productive activity the effectiveness of all means of indoctrination is immeasurably enhanced and the complex whole of ideological-educational mass-political activities becomes an inseparable part of the plans for economic and social development and the communist education of working people.

The June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee elaborated more precisely the Marxist-Leninist tenets of the irreconcilability of the two ideologies, the unprecedented exacerbation of the struggle for the hearts and minds of billions of people on the planet. The Plenum provided an explicit class-oriented appraisal of the world situation, unraveled the inevitable consequences of the insane plans of world hegemony dominating the minds of the ruling circles of the United States and pushing mankind toward the brink of the nuclear catastrophe.

At the Plenum it was emphasized very forcefully that the effectiveness of ideological work hinges on the extent to which the special features of the present stage are considered. In this connection, three orientations of propaganda and mass-political work can be distinguished: clarification of the assumptions and evaluations concerning the present stage of development of the Soviet society; enhancing the effectiveness of propaganda in social and cultural construction; and, lastly, the shaping of such ideological-moral, work-ethic, intellectual and aesthetic traits of the individual as are needed for his conscious, active participation in production activity and social life. These requirements should also be applied to the system of political training and economic education. Their purpose is to make auditors not only understand party policy but also know how to apply in practice their new knowledge and perform actively their social duty.

It is of exceptional importance to clarify to working people thoroughly and convincingly the nature and advantages of the Soviet system of society, those tremendous social and spiritual blessings which socialism brings to man. It is necessary to purposively shed light on the nature of the fundamental values of socialism which are its great accomplishments and which have become to us systematic and self-evident. This is particularly characteristic of work among the youth which lacks sufficient social experience and sometimes does not realize the price that had to be paid by the nation for all that it freely enjoys in its everyday life.

Propagandists should pay special attention in their work to aspects of increasing work productivity and achieving therein a higher work level. A major role should be played by a broad strengthening of organization, discipline and order. This is not a simple matter, and it cannot be reduced to a single propaganda drive. Here persistence and consistency are needed.

The mighty arsenal of the party's practical measures for providing ideological support for socio-economic and educational tasks includes primarily and rightly party training and economic education. It is they precisely that shape the attitudes and ideological convictions of communists and the non-party aktiv, refine their political and economic culture and arm them with habits of political work among the masses. Hence the Plenum demanded improvements in the style of work of the system of party education and mass political training as well as a further strengthening of the bond between theory and the implementation of current socio-economic and educational tasks.

In the light of the decisions of the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum such work has also to be done in order to improve the system of economic education; economic propaganda and economic upbringing of the working people should be totally subordinated to the needs for the intensification of the national economy and the promotion of socialist initiative and practicality.

It is necessary to constantly improve work with propagandists, provide favorable conditions for their creative labor. And the level of these conditions, especially the social, scientific and methodological aids to this important aspect of ideological work, largely depends on the consultants at the political education houses. A consultant is essentially the propagandist of propagandists, their principal mentor. Much depends on the ideological firmness of these consultants, on the level of their ideological and practical training, expertise and knowledge—above all, the growth in the knowledge-ability of propagandists and aiding them with valuable counsel, visual aids and reference data.

A major sector of activity of the houses and offices of political education is the training of propagandists. At many party organizations courses and seminars for propagandists are regularly held and the leading cadres have begun to take more often an active part in these courses and seminars. But in this field, too, quite a few unsolved problems still remain.

The ideological conviction of the Soviet people and their political awareness are shaped not only through indoctrination but also by the mode of life and very nature of our socialist system of society and its advantages. However, owing to the concerns and vexations of everyday life, far from all can see clearly the real, true price of the historic accomplishments of the Soviet society. These should be skillfully and actively propagandized. Propagandists should refer more often not only to the convincing force of impressive figures revealing the growth scale of our economy and the achievements in public health, education, science and culture, but also to the way in which people live. And this propaganda should be deeply argumented, credible and convincing. This is a particularly important consideration in work with youth. In this work, schematizing and moralizing as well as avoiding the discussion of acute questions are absolutely impermissible. Propagandists should attend to making youth industrious as well as ideologically, morally, intellectually and physically prepared for the great and complex tasks that face it along the way to the next millennium.



Greater attention has also to be devoted to problems of atheistic education, shaping an atheist public opinion, counteracting attempts to utilize the religious factors for purposes inimical to our society.

The entire system of propaganda and agitation, of political training and economic education, the entire ideological, mass-political work, is expected to arm the Soviet people with arguments and counter-arguments in the ideological struggle against the class enemy, to inculcate in that people the habits and skills of polemicizing, refuting the false arguments of bourgeois ideologists. It is necessary to unmask operatively malignant fabrications about real socialism and the international communist movement and refute by sound arguments the falsification and slander of the Marxist-Leninist theory as well as propagandize broadly the great advantages of developed socialism.

Ideological workers are duty-bound to carry to the broadest masses throughout the world the truth about the socialist state and its peace-loving foreign policy.

It is important to make it a rule, when studying any course of instruction, to provide criticism of the scientific invalidity and class aims of imperialist propaganda and unmask its techniques and methods. This requires of propagandists, political information experts, lecturers and agitators skill at a critical analysis of the materials of imperialist propaganda sources, the ability to uncover the aims pursued by hostile propaganda. It is necessary to master the intricate techniques of counter-propaganda, because life itself demands of the propagandist turning propaganda and agitation into a reliable mechanism for shaping the ideological steadfastness of communists, of the non-party aktiv, of all working people.

The implementation of the decisions of the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum to raise the ideological-theoretical, scientific-methodological and organizational level of the Marxist-Leninist education and upbringing of the masses requires, the speaker said in conclusion, mobilizing every effort of ideological workers and the propagandist aktiv in order to attain the intended goals.

The seminar participants listened to lectures by G. T. Vlasenko, subdirector chief at the USSR Gosplan, about the struggle of the party and nation to implement the plans of the 11th 5-Year Plan; Professor Dr. V. Metelitsa, on the Leninist nationality policy in action; and A. R. Koshkarev, director of the Affiliate of the Institute of Scientific Atheism, Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee, on the basic directions and forms of counter-acting clerical propaganda.

Those taking part in the seminar activities include A. G. Galimov, Secretary of the Uralsk CC Central Committee and the responsible workers of the USSR Central Committee N. Ya. Klyuch and Yu. M. Khramov.

The work of the seminar continues.

1786

(80) 1800/178

JOURNALIST REPORTED VICTIMIZED FOR EXPOSING MAGADAN AVIATION CORRUPTION

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 12, Dec 83 (signed to press 11 Nov 83)  
pp 17-19

[Article by ZHURNALIST special correspondent Nikolay Krivenko, Magadan-Moscow:  
"TNY in Response to a Letter: Magadan Story"; passages rendered in all capital  
letters printed in boldface in source]

[Text] The story which took me to Magadan was not as simple as it seemed at first glance. A multitude of contradictory opinions, minutes of all kinds of meetings and findings of various commissions had piled up around A. Balko, personal correspondent of the newspaper VOZDUSHNYY TRANSPORT for Magadan Oblast, who turned to the editors of ZHURNALIST with a letter. Some believe that he "suffered for criticism," others perceive almost a violation of the law in his actions to exchange an apartment, and still others generally cast doubt on the advisability of his further work as a personal correspondent of the Central aviation newspaper. In order to delve into all these circumstances one obviously has to begin from the start briefly talk about Balko and go back to events of 1 1/2 and 2 years ago.

Aleksandr Viktorovich Balko is 38 years old, still quite a young journalist and has been only two years in regular newspaper work. Prior to this he was a fitter and bulldozer mechanic and later, after completing the Vyberg Aviation School in 1967, he received the specialty of technician-mechanic for servicing aircraft and helicopters. After retraining he flew as a flight mechanic in an Mi-8 helicopter.

Balko worked actively on newspapers back in his school years, first on the STANISLAVSKY BUREAU and then after moving to the North, on the ALDANSKIY KRAVOCHY, TOLOTAYA OBEROTKA, MAGADANSKAYA PRAVDA and VOZDUSHNYY TRANSPORT. A series of published essays and sketches entitled "Your People, Chukotka," earned him the basis for a creative diploma which he successfully defended in the correspondence-course department of the Journalism faculty of Irkutsk University. He soon joined the party.

Thus the editors of VOZDUSHNYY TRANSPORT had every basis to invite Balko to regular work. On the one hand, he had a professional knowledge of aviation and on the other hand he showed a clear inclination for journalism, and

not only an inclination but abilities as well. Otherwise Yu. Ponomarenko, editor of VOZMUSHNYY TRANSPORT, hardly would have written, in a letter to the heads of the Magadan Administration of Civil Aviation (MGA) in November 1981, that Baiko "had proven to be one of the active and qualified journalists of our newspaper."

The new personal correspondent of VOZMUSHNYY TRANSPORT began to be talked about in Magadan in the fall of last year when he came out with a sharply critical article entitled "Maneuvering of Accountability and Not Equipment." In it he revealed crude distortions of state accountability and instances of eyewash and additions being engaged in by leading workers of the MGA. This was being done for selfish purposes, as the juggling of numerical indicators created an appearance of plan fulfillment, which gave the administration staff (not the flying subunit but specifically the administration staff) the right to receive a quarterly bonus. Later it would be stated in the sentence of the oblast court for criminal case No 10361 that First Deputy Chief of Administration V. Zharov, Chief of the Department for Organization of Transport Operations V. Kostomarov, and Chief of Planning and Economic Department I. Pozdnyakova "attempted to misappropriate state funds in the form of illegal receipt of a bonus remuneration both for their own benefit and for the benefit of other persons in the amount of 29,800 rubles, i.e., an especially large amount."

A curious detail. After gathering material for the article Baiko came to Zharov and Pozdnyakova and told them about his conclusions. Contrary to his expectations, this did not alarm them. On the contrary, they tried in every way to convince the correspondent that there were no violations and everything was being done "according to instructions." They advised him not to write on this matter in the newspaper. Pozdnyakova's ironic remark was recalled: "You'll write the article, we'll refute it and everything will end there." Administration chief A. Yershov also brushed the correspondent aside: "If we are wrong we will be corrected." And he also did not recommend "going into this matter."

On seeing such a pacified calmness of the administration's leading officials another journalist possibly would have doubted the correctness of his conclusions and findings. Baiko had no doubt and the newspaper editors supported him.

The article entitled "Maneuvering of Accountability and Not Equipment" was noticed immediately in the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation, and a commission was sent to Magadan for an inspection, composed of S. Tugolokov, a department chief of the Main Economic Planning Administration, and Ye. Serdyukov, a department chief of the Use of Aircraft in the National Economy Administration, did not discover violations of financial planning discipline of any serious nature in the work of the Magadan airlines and concluded that the article by the VOZMUSHNYY TRANSPORT personal correspondent did not correspond to reality.

It may be necessary for others, but journalists probably don't have to be told of the difficult spot in which the Soviet socialist newspaper correspondent found

himself, and separated from his editors, moreover, by 10,000 km. "I continued to feel that I was right," said Balke, "but frankly speaking I became confused and didn't know what to do. My editors were silent and their attitude toward everything that had happened was unknown to me."

It is difficult to say how events would have developed further had Balke's article not caught the interest of the Magadan Transportation Procurator's Office. An audit of MGA's financial and economic activity was appointed and a criminal case was instituted at its decision. (The decision for appointing an audit, signed by senior investigator V. Korchinskiy, states directly that "the basis for instituting a criminal case was the article by A. V. Balke printed in the newspaper VOZDUSHNYY TRANSPORT under the title 'Maneuvering of Accountability and Not Equipment'.") Performance of the audit was assigned to specialists of the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation.

A new second commission headed by V. Yermenku, chief auditor of the ministry's control-audit department, fully confirmed the correspondent's veracity. There followed an order by Minister of Civil Aviation B. Bogoyev in which leading officials of MGA were given disciplinary punishments (members of the first commission also each received a strict reprimand). The Bureau of the CPSU's Magadan Oblast expelled V. Eharov from the party (later V. Kostomarov and T. Puzhnyakova also were expelled from the party). A trial was held which gave the accused what they deserved.

It would appear that everything had fallen into place and the correspondent could continue work quietly. By this time, however, approximately a half-year after publication of the article, a new conflict situation arose, this time connected with Balke's exchange of apartments. Its substance is as follows.

Up to September 1981 Balke lived with his family in the settlement of Bilibino, a rayon center of Magadan Oblast. The question of a move to Magadan arose when he went to work for VOZDUSHNYY TRANSPORT. As is appropriate in such cases the editors requested local organizations to give the newly appointed correspondent living space in the oblast center. It naturally was understood that on receiving living space in Magadan Balke would immediately surrender the Bilibino apartment.

That is what would have happened (it could not have been otherwise) and no conflict situation would have arisen had the heads of the Magadan Administration of Civil Aviation not shown arbitrariness and had they not taken the path of violating the Principles of Housing Legislation. Instead of resolving this matter in the established manner through the Bilibinskij Rayispolkom and the Magadan Gorispolkom, administration chief A. Tereshov instructed the aviation detachment command element to assign the VOZDUSHNYY TRANSPORT correspondent an official apartment in a settlement not far from Magadan. Later this apartment was "reorganized" into a dormitory for four beds and given to Balke in that form.

In March of this year a commission of the administration's primary mass organization bureau (chaired by senior engineer A. Terent'yev) worked to



clarify the circumstances connected with assignment of an apartment to the VOZDUSHNYY TRANSPORT personal correspondent. The commission notes in its conclusions:

"The decree of the MUGA council and presidium of the terkom [territorial committee] of the Aviation Workers Union dated 18 December 1981 (minutes No 22) which obligated the Magadan Aviation Detachment to provide official living space to the personal correspondent of the newspaper VOZDUSHNYY TRANSPORT, and the subsequent joint decision of the detachment command element and joint trade union committee on issuing A. V. Balko official housing, which the settlement soviet of people's deputies approved in January 1982 as a dormitory for four bunks, are illegal since the position of VOZDUSHNYY TRANSPORT personal correspondent is not included in the List of Categories of Workers who . . . can be given official living space."

And further: "The heads of MUGA should have given Comrade A. V. Balko, personal correspondent of VOZDUSHNYY TRANSPORT, not official housing and moreover not a dormitory, but living space which he could use STABLY AND PERMANENTLY (my emphasis--N. K.), drawing this up in appropriate documentation in the Magadan Gorispolkom."

Together with a local journalist, G. Radchenko (I asked him to be present at the conversation), I asked administration chief Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Yershov why the correspondent's housing problem was resolved so clumsily, in violation of existing standards and procedures.

"It was simpler for us to give him an official apartment," he responded.

"But the fact is, this could lead and did in the future lead to all kinds of complications."

"We weren't thinking about the future..."

The answer is extremely frank: "We weren't thinking," and that's it! In other words, the heads of MUGA themselves do not deny that they approached the matter irresponsibly and did not trouble themselves to give a thought to what a "suspended" state the correspondent would be in when he moved into an official apartment to which he was not authorized.

But if the administration chief was not thinking about the future, Balko was thinking about it. He could not help but be disturbed by the circumstance, for example, that the decision by the MUGA soviet and terkom presidium of the Aviation Workers Union granting him an official apartment did not mention the name Balko (?)--the housing was not being assigned specifically to him, but to a personal correspondent of VOZDUSHNYY TRANSPORT; not to a person, but to a position. In conversations Balko was given to understand unequivocally that today he was the newspaper correspondent and tomorrow there would be another--the administration could not issue apartments endlessly.

This is why Balko repeatedly requested A. Yershov and his deputy I. Borodulin over a period of several months, before and after moving into the dormitory,

to assist in obtaining an apartment which he could (let's turn to the wording of the administration party bureau commission) "use stably and permanently." In so doing, as confirmed by party members in the same party organization as Balko, he did not let up in repeating that he would immediately surrender the Bilibino apartment with the resolution of his housing problem under the procedure established by law. (By the way, when at one time a variant arose under which Balko was to transfer his apartment to the neighboring aviation detachment and receive in its stead permanent living space in Magadan or a nearby settlement, he immediately gave his consent. The exchange did not take place since there was opposition by the heads of the Bilibino Mining and Enriching Combine, to whom the apartment belonged.)

Then Balko performed what I view as a rash act. Without giving up the dormitory he decided to exchange the Bilibino apartment for living space in European parts of the country. As a result of the exchange he obtained a two-room apartment in the city of Belitskoye, Donetsk Oblast, and returned with his family to Magadan after reserving it. This happened in August of last year, a little over three months before the appearance of the article. Many knew about the exchange which had taken place, including administration heads (the correspondent did not make it a secret), but at that time no idle talk arose.

I wish to stipulate at once that there was nothing illegal in Balko's apartment exchange. By exchanging the Bilibino apartment for living space on the continent, as they say in Magadan, he did not violate legislative norms one iota and acted in strict conformity with articles 325 and 326 of the RSFSR Civil Code. Moreover, according to an official memorandum which I obtained from V. Malakhovskiy, deputy chief of the Magadan Oblispolkom Department of Justice, he even had the right to reserve an apartment in Bilibino and then move with his family to Magadan (of course considering that by this time he had no housing reserved in central or other parts of the country).

I see Balko's rashness and lack of thought in his actions in the fact that by his hasty apartment exchange, of which there was no need at that time, he provided the basis or, more precisely, grounds to be suspected of unseemly intentions and the selfish desire to "slyly obtain" or draw personal benefit from the situation. The journalist's good name and his completely untarnished reputation were subjected to doubt.

The "apartment affair" of the aviation newspaper's correspondent which arose suddenly passed from one level to another. The decision by the primary party organization "to reprove Comrade A. V. Balko for not displaying proper persistence in resolving the housing question" was only the beginning. Subsequently the wordings and conclusions became more and more categorical and severe. For example, a party commission memorandum dated 28 June noted that Balko exchanged the apartment "without an intention to use the housing obtained in the exchange, i.e., he committed a fictitious (?) exchange of housing." This same memorandum states that Balko "deserves expulsion from the party" and that "continuation of his work as personal correspondent of VOZDUSHNYY TRANSPORT is deemed inadvisable by the commission." It is surprising that the comrades who expressed such opinions for some reason did not

take into account at all that Balko repeatedly (I emphasize REPEATEDLY!) expressed a readiness to surrender the Bilibino housing in case he was given an apartment in Magadan or a nearby settlement on a legal basis. And I repeat that it was not his fault that such an exchange did not take place.

Matters did not come down to expulsion from the party. Last summer, exactly one year after the apartment exchange, Party Member A. Balko was given a reprimand with entry in his record. Some time later this measure of party punishment was replaced by a reprimand without entry in his personal file.

In reflecting on the Magadan events one automatically thinks about those relationships which formed between Balko and the newspaper editors. To what extent did they assist the journalist in establishing himself at the new place of work and acquiring professional skills and experience?

It would be incorrect to assert that the editors of VOZDUSHNYY TRANSPORT and their leadership did little work with their Magadan correspondent or gave him no attention. They regarded Balko as a young personal correspondent should be regarded: They constantly kept in touch with him, called him up for on-the-job training, and patiently and assiduously "brought up to standard" the materials he sent. If Balko was in error in something they tried to correct him promptly and place him on the true path.

But then conflict situations arose. What position did the editors take in this and how actively did they take part in the Magadan story?

It is extremely surprising that the editors of the newspaper VOZDUSHNYY TRANSPORT did not return to Balko's article "Maneuvering of Accountability and not Equipment" for a little over ten months (!) and reported nothing in its pages about those serious steps which were taken after the article by their Magadan correspondent.

By the way, there was one publication or, as the journalists say, a "follow-up." But what a follow-up! In April, two months after the minister's order, VOZDUSHNYY TRANSPORT published a brief item under the rubric "Steps Taken After Newspaper Coverage." The minister's order was not even mentioned as if it did not exist. Representatives of the administration and public organizations of MUGA announced what had been done in the administration staff after Balko's article. The measures are half-way steps and the wording is cautious and streamlined: "Incorrect actions," "the indicated violations," "poor supervision..."

During many years of work in the press I encountered a situation for the first time where a newspaper consciously is silent about the results of its critical coverage and does not continue or conclude a discussion which has begun. Being in the editorial office in early October I naturally asked how this could be explained.

In the words of Yu. Ponomarenko, editor of VOZDUSHNYY TRANSPORT, the editors were awaiting the conclusion of the trial. That explanation is hardly

./well-founded. First of all, the order of the USSR Minister of Civil Aviation and expulsion from the party of responsible administration officials guilty of distorting state accountability are consequences of the newspaper's critical coverage serious enough to inform the readers of them without awaiting results of court examination. Secondly, even if the comrades from VOZDUSHNYY TRANSPORT were awaiting the court's decision, the sentence in criminal trial No 10361 was signed on 31 August, so that even in this case the editors had time to return to Balko's material.

By their incomprehensible and in my view unexplainable silence the editors themselves, perhaps without wishing it, significantly belittled the strength of the critical article by the Magadan personal correspondent and lowered its consequences in the readers' eyes to the level of intra-administration affairs.

It also would seem that the newspaper might have taken a more specific and interested position in Balko's "apartment conflict" and could have come to its correspondent's assistance promptly when he was in a difficult situation. For example, it did not take much work to discover that some materials on Balko's "housing question" which later were examined by higher party commissions were, simply speaking, fabricated, compiled and formalized after the fact.

Here is a specific fact, established by the way not by me but by that very same commission of the administration party bureau which already has been mentioned.

On 26 October 1982 the council of the Magadan Administration of Civil Aviation and the trade union terkom presidium examined the question of the allocation of living space (Minutes No 10/32). There was no discussion about Balko's apartment at this session and none of his statements on this matter were examined.

In March of this year, already AFTER THE ARTICLE'S APPEARANCE, the session's minutes were falsified and supplemented by a very substantial two-page "insert." It states that "the MUGA council discussed the question of the possibility of assigning an apartment in Magadan to A. V. Balko, personal correspondent of VOZDUSHNYY TRANSPORT" and that, in the opinion of council members, "it is impossible to satisfy his request."

As explained by assistant administration chief Yu. Khmelev (his explanation is quoted in the commission's memorandum), he was given the two pages of typewritten text by A. Yershov on 14 March 1983 with the request "to gather signatures of the council members and attach them to the minutes dated 26 October 1982." This was done, with the dates confused in haste: Instead of "26. X. 82" they wrote "26. X. 83."

"Consequently," concludes the commission, "this typewritten text on two pages with statements of council members refusing to give Balko living space in Magadan (it has to be assumed that these statements were concocted by the administration chief--N. K.) actually was manufactured by Yershov five months after the council met and was appended to the file on his instructions on 16 March 1983."



I assume that this fact alone is sufficient to see for oneself the strained, unfriendly atmosphere in which A. Balko was working for the last year. It is very regretful that the editors of the aviation newspaper did not look into this situation and did not support their correspondent at a difficult moment.

When this article was being prepared for printing Balko continued to be listed as a VOZDUSHNYY TRANSPORT personal correspondent. I say "continued to be listed" because he long ago surrendered the "four-bunk" dormitory, his family moved from Magadan and he himself, judging from everything, will not remain here long.

And so the Magadan story ended for the VOZDUSHNYY TRANSPORT personal correspondent. It is a story which might not have been had there been a more attentive and kindly attitude toward the young journalist.

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## NATIONAL

### EVOLUTION OF LITERARY HEROINE ANALYZED

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Aug 83 p 4

[Article by Ye. Shklovskiy: "This Strong Frail Woman?"]

[Text] The headline is not mine. It is the somewhat unusual, newspaper-style title, albeit without the question mark, of a novel by Ye. Voyevodin (NEVA, Nos 2-3, 1982). And it is not a random title by far. "What is she like, this modern woman?" is a question that today interests many of our novelists. Of course, the right answer would be that she is a manifold creature. After all, the types of women we come across in current literature are quite diverse. Some, however, elicit special attention on the part of writers.

Several years ago a very popular figure not only in literature but also in the cinema was the "strange" woman. Many must still remember the movie by Ye. Gabrilovich and Yu. Rayzman entitled "The Strange Woman." Dissatisfied with the humdrum of existence, she strives to break loose, to find something else. And in her rebellious questing displays truly uncommon strength and resolve, persistence and even toughness.

What drove her? Not cold reason, anyway. Not calculation. Feeling, most likely. Though in certain situations that feeling could suddenly turn into "unfeeling."

Today such a woman probably does not seem strange at all--we are used to her. Another type of woman has entered into our fiction with firm, confident stride, not just a strong, but a career woman as well, engendering in the author either anxiety or analytic interest or an ironic smile. We have met her in our literature before, but as a specific type she evidently took shape in recent times. That is why literature is giving her a real, hard look, not just a passing glance.

The author's ironic smile at this type of woman is a defensive reaction of sorts: it's all affectation, they seem to say, a veneer, but basically a woman is always woman, keeper of the hearth, mother of a family, a creature frail, tender, caring and so on. Such, you see, is the nature of woman, and there's nothing you can do about it.

This is exactly how the hero reasons in S. Abramov's novella "Miracle Needed" (OKTYABR', No 4, 1983) when life brings him into contact with "a vivid

representative, to use the bureaucratic term, of the age of emancipation." Alexandr Pavlovich believes that the business-like efficiency of modern women is nothing more than a method of "self-affirmation of the idiotic, and behind it is an ordinary, pardon the crudity, baba with all the qualities, both physical and moral, which God gave her and her only."

And to prove his point to the "vivid representative" Alexandr Pavlovich, in a fit of inspiration, constructs a machine which with one push of a little button returns the "iron woman" to her primordial state--to affection, warmth, sympathy... In a word, to the weakness that is woman. And having proved that inside the immeasurably self-confident docent from the faculty of automation abides an ordinary baba, Alexandr Pavlovich suddenly comes to understand that this "antinatural" female efficiency and strength is sustained by male egotism, by an unwillingness to shoulder any responsibility, by resignation and acceptance of the most superficial, primitive relations which, to give them their due, are not too heavy a burden.

In his "parable" S. Abramov solves the problem simply, no philosophical frills attached: "the man fells mammoths, the woman keeps the fire alive." That's the way it has been, the way it should be, the way it will be. There's no getting away from it. All this "ironness" of the emancipated woman of today is just a snow job.

The bathos of the author is understandable, but his solution is clearly superficial. The problem touched upon is not an equation with one unknown quantity. It is much broader, encompassing the social, the moral, the psychological. The customary male concept of the woman's essence is not by itself enough, even if it does evoke some sympathy. Moreover, manifestations of that essence can be quite odd and unexpected. Like this one, for example:

"The long-time, fierce desire to get even with him rocked her in that instant with more force than the most rabid love fever and exhorted her--surrender! Let him only take advantage! And when he catches fire, and begins to enjoy it, and becomes crazed and subsides into a sweet groan, then she will push him away, like that time the major..., and finish him off: "Is that all you can do? Why, I was expecting..."

So who did you say topples the mammoth?

We turn now to the heroine, or rather the "antiheroine" of L. Belyayeva's novel "The Unplayed Role" (*Nesygrannaya Rol'*) ("Sovetskiy Pisatel'", Moscow, 1982). Dying in agony from cancer is a woman, a certain Yelizaveta Petrovna, "Queen Yelizaveta" as she was known in the ispolkom where she used to work as a secretary. But even in her desperate condition, lingering in the "borderline zone," what self-confidence, what self-conceit and pride she displays! And not the hint of a doubt, not the least little pang of conscience, though heaven knows there were reasons enough.

Everything this woman had she owed to herself--to her gumption, drive, persistence.

"...An almost statesmanly mind! You don't believe it? You're thinking--how can a little person, a mere secretary, a nothing have a statesmanly mind? Oh, how naive and simple-minded you are! What fun to hit you with the facts! Light up the chasms! Drag you through the labyrinths of existence... Show you how the human being scurries, how he has to scurry to survive, to endure, to overcome..."

And hit you she does. She reveals her whole life-story, all her rich experience to the woman looking after her, shares with that woman her knowledge of "the secrets of life and success in the present circumstances when we're hemmed in and it's dog eat dog..." Chasms there may be, but there definitely is a little "cellar". And on the threshold of nonexistence Yelizaveta Petrovna is absolutely convinced that she is right, that she knows the truth: "Don't lag! Or you'll be knocked down, trampled, crushed. It's not thievery I'm teaching you! Do what counts! The rest will come by itself."

All her life she had been doing what counted, but with a very singular perception of what did. It was not life, but one unending string of strategy and tactics. Of scheming, conniving and so on. Love? It won't feed you. Soul? Out of this world. Tenderness? Depending on the circumstances.

And And having attained a certain "upper level" where she could allow herself a measure of coquetry, the "little person," the "nothing," the omniscient Yelizaveta Petrovna put her knowledge of "the secrets of life and success" to active use. No thievery, of course, but she did what counted, never turning down any tokens of "gratitude." Since she was not only farsighted and resolute, but close to the "big brass," she could offer a suggestion or even put in a word on someone's behalf.

In a word, a strong woman. But whereas the "strange woman" was perhaps unaware of her own strength, here is a case where calculation, willpower and drive are raised to the level of an "ideology," a principle. In Trifonov's "The Exchange" this go-getter type, which the writer was probably the first to see through, is given the rather objectionable but very apt definition of "the bulldog woman": "Such a pretty bulldog of a woman... She never let go till her desires materialized in the flesh right in her teeth. A great quality. Wonderful, marvelous, life-deciding. A real he-man quality." Lenchka Lukyanova, though, is a far cry from "Queen Yelizaveta." Not in the same league.

It takes a lot of creative daring to launch a serious investigation of such a human type, as L. Belyayeva does in her novel. She not only attempts to fathom its social and psychological roots, but touches on many important societal problems that in one way or another impinge on the phenomenon. The novel boasts quite a few interesting psychological observations and precisely perceived realities; the author expressed a good sensitivity to the undercurrents of life. Whether the investigation is convincing in the artistic sense is another question.

Do you know who the dying heroine addresses her confession to? Her chance attendant is not only an ideological foe, but also, it turns out, the mother of a man whom Lizon'ka once jilted and who even attempted suicide because of her. A far-fetched, contrived situation if there ever was one.



Instead of a bona fide conflict the "chasms" of the heroine are rebuffed by censorious outbursts "blasphemously thundering under the vaults of the old attendant's skull." The reader is not required to reflect on the "problem" character. In page after page, faithfully discharging the self-imposed duties of a nurse, the old party member Mariya Matveyevna, stunned by the "undergarment" side of life revealed to her, heaps "shame on this horrible baba, this bourgeois vermin, this Philistine leftover..."

What, then, keeps the novel moving, endows it with kinetic energy? None other than Eros: "Solovyev, my Solovyev... I'll force you into it! I'll overwhelm you!" The thought seethed in Valeriya Romodanova's breast and distended her inflamed nostrils. At that incisive, ecstatic moment the insatiable glances of the director and the actress met and they both yearned to make love to each other right there and then. Without any preliminaries, any sizing-up..." and so on. There are quite a few outpourings of this ilk in the novel. We do not think there is any point in reminding the reader of the chastity of Russian literature. Another age... But perhaps chastity isn't the whole answer. Perhaps the classics keenly sensed that very thin dividing line which sets literature apart from something that is not.

And another point. The author of "The Unplayed Role" is at times too free and easy in the way she handles the Russian language. The novel is studded with verbal "neologisms" of her own invention, so much so that all its personages, not just the main heroine, impress the reader as "ecstatically hyperactive" beings.

But let's go back to the strong modern woman of today. What a colossal and at the same time rather symptomatic evolution is undergone by Lionghina, the heroine of a novel by M. Slutskis "A Trip to the Mountains and Back" (DRUZHBA NARODOV, Nos 2-5, 1983)! The shy, timid, painfully sensitive girl who isn't quite sure of the reality of her own existence and the brash, self-confident, pushy consumer of the fruits of civilization she turns into ("I'll snatch me one with fang and claw!"--this about a scarce fur coat) are worlds apart.

M. Slutskis takes a long hard look at how this dramatic evolution comes about, how life imperceptibly cuts the human being down to size, forces him to relinquish his noble, romantic aspirations. I can't say that the metamorphosis as shown by the author is entirely convincing, but the contrast between what the heroine was, what she could be, and what she became is striking.

Come to think of it, though, her capabilities were varied from the start. The woman awakening in her involuntarily senses her own feminine power and attractiveness. But the soul, the soul is reaching for the mountains, up and away, the soul hurts, the soul frets, the soul searches....

And afterwards the hustle and bustle of life: work, correspondence school, family concerns, tending a sick, helpless mother, the husband in trouble, a failed pregnancy, and overall a vast, overwhelming, foot-dragging weariness. And suffering "because of what she hadn't but should have done for other people."

Still, the writer tends to overdramatize the commonplace. Not infrequently he zips up the narrative by flogging the sensitivities of the personages or unjustifiably romanticizing some of the scenes. There is a downright overabundance of wounds in the novel: now the heroine sees a wound under her husband's left shoulder blade (symbolic, of course), now she runs into an old woman with a face that is one big wound (as symbolic as it is real), now she herself is "like a wound with the dressing ripped off." Not too dramatic either, the author's intention notwithstanding, are the endless vigils of the husband waiting for the absent Lionghina and suffering seemingly because there's no one around to make his tea or sharpen his pencil.

The usual humdrum human existence. The writer reveals its hidden dramatic potential which the casual glance does not register and which in one way or another impacts the personality. How could anyone cast a stone at this totally confused woman whose only desire is to adapt? Especially since this adaptation doesn't come cheap: there are times when you pay with your soul....

So where do we stand? The obvious question to ask is: where are you, the frail, gentle, romantic creatures sung in verse? Where are you, dedicated, loving, selfless wives and devoted, caring, patient mothers? To be in step with the times is to be strong, to grab your share of the pie, to overcome.

But it would be naive to argue that life had at any time favored weakness. Living a life spun of "weeks like any other," the woman is obliged to be strong, bearing on her brittle shoulders the full burden of stresses of the 20th century. What deserves she if not male gratitude!

However, this is a different kind of strength. It is not aggressive, not selfish, but that down-to-earth female strength which helps the heroine of the Voyevodin novel mentioned above, an ordinary engineer, to cope with a host of problems arising daily in her private life and on the job.

A case in point is the heroine of a novel by M. Ganina "If We Live..." (OKTYABR', No 6, 1983). Life had not been a bed of roses for Mariya Sergeyevna: a fatherless childhood, the usual mistakes of a credulous girl, the rigors of loneliness, no help or support from any quarter. "She snarled back like the scurvy runt of the litter, fought to survive, to scramble out of the snowdrift they'd thrown her in to test her viability." And later a private life that just wouldn't come together, disappointments, losses--the harsh destiny of a woman that can lead to bitterness, a broken spirit, a betrayal of self as was the case with, say, M. Slutskis' heroine.

But there was no betrayal. She did become gruffer, touchier, more caustic, she had never learnt to dodge issues anyway, had always spoken her mind, but she stood her ground--"whatever else, but with conscience she had been provided enough and to spare." As with a longing to fill to the brim, to ennoble her life which she measures not by the success of the moment, but by the true human values in which she sensed its very meaning. Isn't that why she had hung on to a precious heirloom, the family library, in her most difficult period when she could just as well have let things slide? Isn't that why she, a technologist, gave her beloved job her all? In fact, she found all work interesting, realizing

that much depended on her too. Yet at the same time the woman in her keenly felt the incompleteness of a solitary existence--the unexpended tenderness and kindness, the need to mean something to someone. In an "age of great sobriety" the heroine yearns for "old-fashioned emotions." And as long as that yearning lives humanity will not wane.

Depicting the heroine at a watershed period of her life: leaving the past behind, another and absolutely unfamiliar job, an encounter with a man she once loved who loves her still and whom she must either reject or fight for the way she once fought for a happiness that failed, the author puts many serious thoughts on life and human relations into Mariya Sergeyevna's mouth, thoughts which she herself subscribes to. The trouble is some of them sound abstract and sententious, like lectures "on the subject of." And as is customary the sharpest barbs are aimed at the conformist, whose "soul has become overgrown with black wool." We've heard a lot of that stuff before, but not enough, it seems....

There are many similarities between the heroines of Ye. Voyevodin's and M. Ganina's novels--both manage not only to stand up to the pressures of life, but to retain their individuality. To retain their womanhood, which means to give of the warmth and kindness of their hearts. Is it not this down-to-earth yet ideal strength that made the woman of classic Russian literature the personification of high integrity, spiritual beauty and talent?

The reader would be wrong if he perceived the above as an appeal to writers to depict only the type of heroine who bears her womanly load with dignity. Or to construct models that could serve as another illustration to the formula we already know: "the man fells mammoths, the woman keeps the fire alive."

One wise critic remarked that the emancipation of women is, in perspective, one of the significant "shocks" of the 1970's. That could well be. All the more reason for current literature to view the study of this multilayered phenomenon, of its roots and its social, moral and psychological consequences, as a cardinal artistic task. What does the contemporary woman live by? Her feelings, her thinking, her dreams, problems and cares are all in need of artistic interpretation. We might discover more about her in the process.

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## NATIONAL

### EFFECT OF 'SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS' ON SHAPING OF LITERARY PERSONA EXAMINED

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Doctor of Philological Sciences Anatoliy Bocharov: "A Cosmic Flare or a Lantern of Diogenes?"; passages rendered in all capital letters printed in boldface in source]

[Text] In following our discussions, I begin to understand increasingly how the alchemists came into existence: they also passionately wanted to find one formula, one secret in order to successfully transform any, even worthless substances into gold.

But being already aware of the hopelessness of alchemy, I do not expect that any kind of discussion will provide reliable knowledge, a cherished formula and an exhaustive answer as to how to transform complex, vital substances into gold ingots. And is one single answer really needed? Perhaps, this is just the case when the search itself turns out to be more productive than the formula? Art is strong precisely because it is many-sided, capricious and dynamic--as many-sided, capricious and dynamic as life itself.

This also defines my attitude toward the question raised in the discussion: it is impossible to find an alchemic formula which makes it possible to determine straight off which work can be regarded as contemporary and which cannot. But it is good that an occasion arose to express oneself, which, in my opinion, was splendidly used by V. Tolstoykh in his poeticizing of man, by A. Rusov to criticize the attempts to canonize realism of the 19th century as the highest form of artistic thought forever and by V. Akinov to attack those who want to reduce the boundless world of literature to the narrow "by means of literature."

#### Accursed Questions, a Trite Answer

What does contemporary mean as applied to literature? Is any work contemporary as long as it describes discoveries, quests and misconceptions of contemporaries--and who will say that it is less interesting and important for us to read about quests and misconceptions than about discoveries? Or, can only art which is consciously directed at vital and moral problems arising today, actively influences the soul of contemporaries and is included in the essential social, spiritual and moral experience be called contemporary?



Ideally this should coincide. But in reality the objective belonging of a work to its time still does not mean that it invariably plays an active role in the spiritual life of contemporaries.

Here is another question: Can that which reflects the situation and environment of today's life or which raises problems of life of contemporaries and can be expressed in a fantasy, in various conventional forms and even in a historical novel be called contemporary? Again, ideally the environment and problems should coincide, but this is by no means always the case.

What is the zone of contemporary life? One, 2 or 10 years or a stretch of life of a generation? The environment and problems of contemporary life are viewed differently depending on this. If it is the current 5-year plan, then the Baykal-Amur mainline railroad [BAM], the nonchernozem zone and Reagan's branding of arms will be contemporary life; on a scale of 2 decades--prose on war, collectivization, revolution and other events of national history that speak to this time have a place. For example, we have a right to regard the novel by A. Anan'yev "Gody bez voyny" [Years Without War], as a book about our time.

The artistic discovery of contemporaneity, on which A. Prokhanov always insists (let us also recall his article which opened the discussion on rural prose in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA), is reduced, in essence, to plucking a feather from the firebird's wing before it begins to flap its wings to fly--and after that it does not matter if it takes off at all. Isn't his mobile garden-city in "Vechnyy gorod" [Eternal City] like that?

Finally, how is contemporaneity to be measured--by success among readers or by the depth of its penetration into reality? Again, let us discard the "ideally" and admit that works which plow deeply into reality sometimes do not get to the reader masses immediately, and, just the opposite, the books which enjoyed sensational success repeatedly turn out to be one-day affairs. A recent discussion in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA on mass character and national character explained this excellently.

You see there are writers of a highly social mold (V. Shukshin), of a lyrical-philosophical mold (V. Rasputin) and of a mythological mold (G. Matevosyan, T. Pulatov), but are we not leaning only on the epic novel genre in our idea of reflecting contemporary life? Is it by accident alone that the current discussion is only about contemporary life in prose?

It is worth immersing ourselves into these questions, as the predetermined answer becomes clear: the work that brilliantly portrays the deep-seated processes of contemporary life and answers ideological demands and artistic tastes which have been formed up to this time in the audience is contemporary. Regardless of how much we twist and turn, we still will come upon three components: talent, the depth of understanding real life processes, and the artistic perfection of the picture portrayed. Everything else is just verbal bells. But then the discussion began by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA has as its aim not developing an alchemic formula but an actual level of today's literature in understanding reality.

## Life Seen in a New Way

The age-long strength and necessity of art is in the fact that it strives to understand the problems which are solved by contemporaries and which burn the hearts with genuine and not illuminative fire. Not the space torch, but the lantern of Diogenes should be the writers' emblem. It is precisely the cognitive strength of art that produces true writers and real books. Hamlet, Don Quixote, Oblomov and Grigoriy Melekhov appeared as a result of it....

While satisfying his entertainment needs now primarily through television, the reader more often turns to books as a source of serious thoughts about the world, which give rise to or meet his needs for spiritual contacts and spiritual discussion of human nature and man's place on our troubled planet. And in this sense not only the contemporary circumstances, under which an action develops, but the contemporary thought of an artist as well are of interest. Thought! Not necessarily a global one, but invariably one that is vivid, keen and honest.

If we cast a sober and interested glance at contemporary literary panorama, then we will be easily convinced that we had books which were able as regards their subjects to console the most zealous admirers of scientific and technical revolution [NTR]: on isotopes for blacksmith Altunin, on cosmonauts who live on earth and on an academician-cyberneticist making an ardent speech at an international symposium devoted to the glory of the life-giving scientific and technical revolution. Why are they not noticed and used by the admirers of scientific and technical revolution? Most likely, the matter is really not in the flare but in the lantern.

On the other hand, the readers were much affected by "Vybor" [The Choice] by Yu. Bondarev, "Kartina" [The Painting] by D. Granin, "Buranny polustanok" [The Snowstorm Station] by Ch. Aytmatov, "Utinaya okhota" [The Duck Hunt] by A. Vampilov, "Kapli dozhdya" [The Rain Drops] by P. Kuusberg and many other works! Diverse in artistic perfection, they are marked by a lively thought of writers to which readers warmly respond. It is a sin not to notice this seething of the literary sea.

It is necessary to love human deeds--in science, art and production--and not to turn away arrogantly from something that is "small," regardless if it is a "little" man, an "undistinguished" production or a "private" experiment. Otherwise we are in danger of losing the main appeal and the main purpose of literature--the fullness of artistic cognition and development of life.

The priests of scientific and technical revolution are not using that way to search for contemporary life. All soar to heights and distances, and in the last resort agree to limit themselves, like A. Prokhanov, to "a portrait of an enormous space full of activity," but there is a desire--V. Tolstykh is right--to know more about what is going on all around, what efforts are concentrated on and what people's anxieties and hopes are linked to.

We still think naively that literature must overtake reality, pave the way. As if we forget that a writer--even of such a scale as Dostoyevskiy, Tolstoy and Chekhov--is not a soothsayer or a messiah but a voice of the people and their

conscience and anguish or, as they would have said in olden days, a sensor of people's feelings. Not everything that is new in art is always new in life with the exception of life seen in a new way. Writers concentrate on the future to the same degree the people are thinking about their future, and the coming day grows in their prose out of the present and not as a description of a feather plucked from a firebird.

LET US REFER TO A MOST "COMMON" EXAMPLE.

THE RECENT NOVEL BY M. GANINA "YESLI BUDYEM ZHIVY..." [IF WE ARE STILL ALIVE...] HAS MUCH THAT IS LIFELIKE: THE DESCRIPTION OF THE CONSTRUCTION PROJECT, ITS LABOR ROUTINE AND EVERYDAY DIFFICULTIES; THE UNSETTLED STATE OF WOMEN'S LOT--AS SO OFTEN HAPPENS DURING MIGRATION LINKED TO CONSTRUCTION; THE FUTURE OF THE CONSTRUCTION PROJECT CHIEF--WHO IS ONE OF THE CONTEMPORARY BUSINESSLIKE PEOPLE AS REGARDS HIS POSITION, BUT QUITE HUMANE IN TEMPERAMENT AND ATTITUDE TOWARD LABOR AND THOSE AROUND HIM; AND THE CLOSELY INTERWOVEN YESTERDAY AND TODAY OF MARIYA, THE HEROINE OF THE NOVEL. BRIEFLY STATED, IT HAS EVERYTHING THAT MAKES IT POSSIBLE TO REGARD IT AS A NOVEL ABOUT CONTEMPORARY LIFE--THE SIGNS OF THE TIME, HUMANE THOUGHTS AND REAL DESTINIES.

BUT IS M. GANINA'S NOVEL CONTEMPORARY IN THE LITERAL SENSE OF THE WORD, DOES IT REVEAL TO US SOME KIND OF A NEW TRUTH AND ENRICH US WITH NEW KNOWLEDGE--MORAL AND SOCIAL? PROBABLY NOT. IT LACKS ARTISTIC POLISH: INSTEAD OF A MAJOR, SOCIALLY SIGNIFICANT PROBLEM THAT IS CAPABLE OF CONDUCTING A NARRATION--A SCATTERING OF FEATURE-STORY PROBLEMS, AND INSTEAD OF THE HEROINE'S ORGANIC LIFE DESTINY--AN INTERWEAVING OF COINCIDENCES, WHICH USUALLY IS THE FIRST SIGN OF A LITERARY FORM (VYSTROYENNOST'). ONE DOES NOT HAVE TO BE A GREAT SEER IN ORDER TO PREDICT THAT THE NOVEL WILL NOT BE INCLUDED AS SIGNIFICANT IN ANY WAY IN THE SPIRITUAL LIFE OF CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY, IT WILL NOT BECOME AN "INSPIRER" OF MINDS. DOES THIS MEAN THAT IT SHOULD NOT HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED IN THE JOURNAL? BY NO MEANS NO. IT WILL EXCITE AND PROMPT MANY READERS TO THINK ABOUT LIFE, ESPECIALLY WOMEN AND PARTICULARLY THOSE OF THE SAME AGE AS THE HEROINE. IT WOULD BE APATHETIC TO EXCLUDE IT FROM CONTEMPORARY PROSE.

Estonian prose writers and critics even have a term such as WOMEN'S PROSE, a prose created by female writers which concentrates on women's lot, which as a rule, is not a very happy one. This type of prose can also be singled out in Russian literature (wasn't the recent article in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA by Yevg. Shklovskiy "Eta sil'naya slabaya zhenshchina?" [This Strong Frail Woman?] about this?). The problems of women's emancipation today are perhaps sharper and more dramatic than fitting out with new equipment. And here I am ready, as the saying goes, to fight to the last: the demographic "knot" does not yield to the ecological one. Who will want the preserved nature "if children become completely unfashionable?"

The prose of that generation, which has confidently settled in a literature today and which was interestingly described by A. Rusov--the prose of A. Prokhanov, A. Kim, R. Kireyev, V. Makanin, A. Kurchatkin and V. Orlov! Why is it forced to argue so passionately for itself? Is the artificial excitation exaggerated? No, their books unquestionably graze some nerve in contemporary life and the sharpness of view, the dramatism of "calm" situations and principled "ambivalence" are inherent in them.

It is a pity, of course, that even the critics who are disposed toward them still operate by means of "verbal attacks" and as a "herd," forced to do this to a certain extent by insufficient individual revelation of their talents. It is also a pity that sometimes ambivalence arises in them from confusion over things committed to memory. But their interest in contemporary life is unquestionable, organic and persistent. Not only pride in man but anguish over him as well can be contemporary. Does not the prose by V. Shukshin, V. Tendryakov and F. Abramov fill our hearts with pride? Some kind of other words must be used to define their prose. The problems of "Gryadushchemu veku" [To the Coming Century] by G. Markov or "Zakona vechnosti" [The Law of Eternity] by N. Dumbadze equally do not yield to an easy, simple definition.

No, say what you like, but contemporary literature--a literature that writes about our life with interest, a literature that is turned either to the "macroworld" of our life or immersed in the mysteries of its "microworld"--exists!

Of course, a man, who reads one book for several months, cannot catch the novel by M. Ganina or the stories by A. Kurchatkin in such a large-meshed net. But people who read regularly have a much richer catch. One may long for "the book of a century," but in this longing he must not shut his eyes to books of the century.

#### Desires and Demands

A conversation about what we expect from literature always bears a strange nuance.

Of course, our desires and requirements always--and in all spheres of life--represent the reference points for movement, but for some reason DESIRE as applied to literature acquires the metallic ring of DEMAND.

Here is how I. Podgornyy speaks demandingly: "...is it not the direct concern of literature to show how man changes in the course of scientific and technical revolution, and how by changing he transforms the scientific and technical revolution itself, culture and our civilization as a whole?"

We have heard many similar demands in our time: this must be reflected in literature without fail, the other is also of its direct concern, the third and the tenth as well! But the caravan moves along its own way, for art, like science, needs objective conditions for everything. Certainly, not those that I. Podgornyy has in mind, believing that as if by glancing at the earth from space a writer will gain possession of "absolutely new artistic, psychological and ethical information."

Believing in strict designs of logic, we indicate to literature which books should be created. But it continues in its stubbornness. Why is it?

What would it take Yu. Trifonov to write a series of stories not about city residents but about researchers of black holes or creators of holography? Why Rasputin bids farewell to Matyera, but does not look prayerfully at the radiance of electric suns? And even Mayya Ganina could very well have sent her heroine to the Atomash [not further identified] and not to the pit of a construction project in the Urals.



Writers can do it all, but the problem is that concrete is also laid at the Atomash and the dumptrucks are driven by the same kind of fellows as in the Urals. As the saying goes, good and different.

In my memory every discussion revealed how much we all, as it turns out, are inwardly dissatisfied with the present state of literature. But not because it lacks humanized equipment or a glance from space. But because there is lack of truth about time and about us, a lack of depth in penetration into the life of the people, who have the honor of being the trail blazers of new social paths. Social ones! To be a trail blazer is not only honorable but also difficult. Nevertheless, while failing to reach the desired level, literature corresponds to today's level of social consciousness and it is unlikely that it can get over it alone.

Literature that is genuinely contemporary is such literature which possesses humaneness, which trusts in and is compassionate to man, takes pride in that which is in him and grieves at the sight of disorders, imperfections and unrealized opportunities.

Probably, that is why it is stubborn and does not meet the good, well-meaning wishes which concern living people and not abstract construction as was the treatment of living people by our predecessors, who did not leave us starry hymns in honor of laying the great Trans-Siberian railway or even the Petersburg-Moscow express railway line and who had to deal with the railway for the purpose of providing stimulus to the confession in "Kreytserovaya sonata" [Kreutzer Sonata] or to throwing Anna Karenina under an oncoming train.

Is it worthwhile to divide man so calmly into the old, the new, and the still newer, this last requiring the immediate development of "a system of new ethical values," according to J. Davidenko's recommendation?

The clashing of classics and contemporary writers is equally unproductive. Where do the classics end? With Chekhov? Or with Gor'kiy? Perhaps with Sholokhov? Has not Bulgakov become a classic already?

Some say: I do not read Soviet writers, I read classics. This is a respectable version. Others say: I do not read our writers, only foreign writers. This is a wayward version. But they deal with only two or three classics: Dostoyevskiy, Tolstoy, Chekhov, and among those from abroad Proust, (Camus) and Galsworthy are also mentioned.

Here I. Podgornyy writes that his "spiritual need for contact with art" is satisfied by classics and not contemporary literature. All right, I know people who are satisfied with old music or two-century old paintings and ignore the contemporary ones. There is nothing to marvel at especially: after all contemporary literature (no less than music and painting) does not go into this odd column of "contact with art," it demands from the audience a clarity of its positions and the ability to respond to the strange and the new--in ideas,

ethical values and artistic means. I will even say it this way: contemporary literature is always more pert and forceful than classics and it meets the needs of contact with reality and not contact with art alone. The more deeply it masters the genuine problems of reality artistically and intrudes in them more decisively, the more contemporary it is!

9817

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## REGIONAL

### KAZAKH CENTRAL COMMITTEE CRITICIZES EAST KAZAKHSTAN OBLAST PARTY WORK

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Dec 83 p 1

[Article: "At the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan [KaCP] has considered the question of the organizational work of the party's East Kazakhstan Oblast Committee with regard to the fulfillment of the requirements of the 26th CPSU Congress concerning the increase in the completeness of the use of raw materials and the creation and introduction of technological processes resulting in no waste products at the enterprises in the oblast's nonferrous metallurgy.

East Kazakhstan Oblast, under the guidance of the party committees and the primary party organizations, is carrying out purposeful work to increase the completeness of the use of raw materials. Those questions are considered at conferences on scientific practice and at party and workers meetings, and are studied by commissions involved in the monitoring of the activities of the administrators.

Special attention is being devoted to the reinforcement of the creative ties between the scientific-research institutes and production. In cooperation with the VNIItsvetmet, Kazgiprotsvetmet, and many other institutes, each enterprise has developed and is carrying out measures to reduce the losses of metal during production and processing, and has prepared special-purpose comprehensive programs for converting the metallurgical production entities to technological processes resulting in little or no waste products. These enterprises have been the first in the branch to create and assimilate autogenous, hydrometallurgical, sorption, and extraction processes that increase the extraction of the basic and by-product metals.

The Ust-Kamenogorsk Lead and Zinc Combine has introduced a technological process for obtaining rare elements from dusts and waste products; the vacuum refinement of cadmium; and the continuous decopperizing of lead; and a closed system for the reciprocal processing of industrial products of the zinc plant and the lead plant is in operation. That has made it possible to increase the extraction of beneficial components; to increase the production of by-products to 51.7 percent in the overall volume of production; and to achieve the branch's highest rate of completeness for the use of raw materials. The Leninogorsk Polymetal Combine has introduced electrothermal units for

processing dusts and turnovers; it has introduced and is operating shops for the mechanized separation of storage-battery scrap metal, the high-temperature leaching of zinc cakes, and the Waelz processing of lead slags. The Ust-Kamenogorsk Titanium and Magnesium Combine has become one of the best enterprises in the branches with regard to the indicators of metal extraction. A high degree of completeness of use of raw materials has also been achieved at the Irtysh Chemical and Metallurgical Plant.

For the completeness of removal of nonferrous metal ores from the earth at mining enterprises, there has been a further development of systems for working the areas, with the packing of the area of the worked space; the repeated processing of reserves that had been previously written off as losses; and the involvement of poor ores in the reprocessing. Concentration plants have been improving the collective and selective flotation schemes with the additional extraction of metals from the tailing products; they have introduced gravitational and ion-exchange units; and the volumes of concentration of ores in heavy environments have been increased.

As a result, during recent years the share of by-products in the overall volume of the production at enterprises in the oblast's nonferrous metallurgy has increased and has reached 37.8 percent. There has been an increase in the quantity of extractable elements; despite the worsening of the composition of the ores, they have been successful in preserving and even increasing the extraction of certain basic and associated metals. As a result of the involvement of waste products in reprocessing alone, in 1981-1983 additional output valued at tens of millions of rubles was produced. The real prerequisites for the conversion of the enterprises to technological schemes with small amounts of waste products have been created.

At the same time, the work of increasing the completeness of the use of raw materials still has instances of the insufficient use of all the available opportunities. Not all the enterprises have been aggressively and persistently waging the struggle to reinforce technological discipline and to reduce the losses during mining, concentration, and metallurgical reprocessing. Effective steps are not being taken to assure the most rapid assimilation of the activated production capacities. Little concern is being shown for improving the quality of the scientific-research and construction-planning projects. No provision has been made for the fulfillment of the capital construction plan.

The oblast committee and a number of other party committees have been insufficiently supervising the fulfillment of the organizational and technical measures to increase the completeness of the use of raw materials, and are showing a conciliatory attitude toward the fact that the key problems are taking a long time to be resolved or are being incompletely resolved. The proper demandingness is not being shown to the economic managers, to assure that they guarantee the planned indicators for the extraction of metals and the reduction of losses, the prompt introduction of advanced technological processes, and the reinforcement of discipline and organizational spirit in production.

The KaCP Central Committee has approved the positive work performed by the party committees of East Kazakhstan Oblast in increasing the completeness of



the use of raw materials, and the development and introduction into production of technological schemes with no waste products at enterprises of nonferrous metallurgy. The KaCP oblast committees have been advised that, in the light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the subsequent Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and the 15th KaCP Congress, they should intensify the organizational work with regard to the efficient use of mineral resources, the struggle to reduce the losses of metals and other valuable components, and the involvement of production waste products in economic circulation, and should increase the creative aggressiveness of the labor collectives in improving all the qualitative indicators during the complete processing of raw materials.

5075

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## REGIONAL

### KAZAKH SUPREME COURT PLENUM RECOMMENDS INDIVIDUALIZED SENTENCING

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Dec 83 p 3

[KazTAG [Kazakh News Agency] item: "Plenum of the KaSSR Supreme Court"

[Text] The latest plenum of the KaSSR Supreme Court, in response to a report by the chairman of its Criminal Cases Board, A. Zh. Zhumazhanov, has considered the question of the practice of the establishing by the republic's courts of measures of criminal punishment.

The republic's courts have, for the most part, been correct in the establishing of measures of criminal punishment. At the same time they are not yet completely executing the requirements of the law or the instructions of the plenums of the USSR Supreme Court and the KaSSR Supreme Court concerning the individualizing of punishment. The plenum has made it mandatory to eliminate these shortcomings, to guarantee the strict execution of the requirements of the law, and to prevent any easing up with regard to persons who are guilty of heinous crimes, who have been previously sentenced, and stubbornly refuse to participate in honest labor life.

By way of carrying out supervision, there was a consideration of the question of the court practice dealing with cases involving hooliganism. A report was given by KaSSR Supreme Court member R. B. Ospanov. It was noted that the republic's courts have been basically correct in resolving cases of that category. However, in certain instances the courts have been setting punishment without the proper evaluation of the degree of danger, the actions that were perpetrated, or the facts pertaining to the personality of the accused individual. The proper attention is not always paid to ascertaining the reasons and the conditions that promote the commission of the particular crime. Incomplete use is made of such an effective form of indoctrinational influence as the consideration of the cases in assizes.

The plenum has required the courts to observe strictly the requirements of the law and the decrees issued by the plenums of the USSR Supreme Court and the KaSSR Supreme Court with regard to preventing or curtailing acts of hooliganism and to the fighting of alcoholism.

The plenum discussed the results of the generalization of court practice dealing with civil cases, and suits taken by sovkhozes and kolkhozes against

citizens, dealing with the compensation of losses incurred as a result of the shortage, destruction, or spoilage of agricultural output. A report on that question was given by KaSSR Supreme Court member L. D. Krementsova. The courts' attention was directed to the necessity for the prompt and correct resolution of civil cases, including those dealing with the intactness of socialist property.

Changes were made in the decree dealing with the approval of the scientific-consultative council under KaSSR Supreme Soviet.

Decrees dealing with the questions that were discussed were adopted.

There was a consideration of the protests by the deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Court and the chairman of the KaSSR Supreme Court with regard to specific court cases.

Participants in the plenum, which was held under the chairmanship of G. B. Yelemisov, included KaSSR Procurator U. S. Sentov, and responsible workers of the KaCP Central Committee, the Presidium of the KaSSR Supreme Court and Council of Ministers, and the KaSSR ministries of internal affairs, justice, and agriculture.

5075

CSO: 1830/172

## REGIONAL

### ARMENIAN SUPREME SOVIET COMMISSIONS DISCUSS PLANS, BUDGET

GF081130 Yerevan SOVETAKAN AYASTAN in Armenian 22 Dec 83 p 1

[Text] The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Planning and and Budget Commission; the Maternity, Child Development and Work and Life of Women Commission; and the Youth Affairs Commission concluded the primary revision of the 1984 Armenian SSR Socioeconomic Development State Plan outlines, the course of implementation of the 1983 Socioeconomic Development State Plan, the 1984 Armenian SSR State Budget, and the fulfillment results of the 1982 Armenian SSR State Budget.

At the conclusive session of the Planning and Budget Commission held on 21 December and participated in by the representatives of the corresponding standing commissions, the prepared conclusions on the 1984 Armenian SSR Socioeconomic Development State Plan, the 1984 Armenian SSR State Budget, and the account of the fulfillment of the 1982 Armenian SSR State Budget were presented. Prior to these conclusions a large-scale preparatory project to study and analyze the basic denominators of the plan was carried out and the shortcomings in the activities of the separate branches of the republic's national economy were revealed. Along with the deputies of the standing commissions, corresponding republic experts, scientists and officials of ministries and administrations participated in the work.

Particular attention is given in the commissions' recommendations to issues linked with the further elevation of output productivity, expansion of enterprises, reconstruction and technical retooling, taking into consideration that the achievement of over 90 percent of the production volume growth in 1984 is projected on their account. Attention was also paid to the further improvement of the quality of produced output and the necessity of expanding the variety of consumer goods in high demand and other products.

The revision of the issue was participated in by G. Sagoyan, deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Armenian SSR State Planning Commission; D. Balyan, the republic's deputy finance minister; deputies N. Ayvazyan, Y. Khachikyan, A. Midoyan, A. Mirzoyan and others. The commissions urged R. Amiryan, chairman of the Planning and Budget Commission, to enter the said issue in the revision of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

B. Sarkisov, chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, addressed the session of the commissions, and M. Bakhchinyan, secretary of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, participated in the work of the commissions.



## REGIONAL

### ARMENIAN CP CC HOLDS CONFERENCE ON SUPREME SOVIET ELECTIONS

GF081138 Yerevan SOVETAKAN AYASTAN in Armenian 23 Dec 83 p 1

[Text] On 20 December a conference of the first secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms was held at the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, where the activities of the republic's party organizations toward the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee decision on "The Tasks of the Party Organizations Toward the Preparations and Holding of the 11th Convocation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Elections" were reviewed.

Comrade K. S. Demirchyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the conference.

It noted that the electoral campaign must commence in the responsible phase of the struggle waged for the fulfillment of the party's 26th Congress and CPSU Central Committee plenum resolutions and the successful implementation of the socioeconomic and spiritual development of the Soviet public. A responsible task has been laid before the party gorkoms and raykoms and the party organizations: to secure the preparation and holding of the elections of the highest organ of the country's state authorities at a high organizational, ideological and political standard by strictly following the USSR Constitution and the regulation on the USSR Supreme Soviet elections. The entire course of this important political campaign should be closely linked with the solution of the current socioeconomic problems, the further elevation of the role of the Soviets and working collectives, the improvement of the state and economic organs' work, the strengthening of discipline and law and order and the elevation of the initiatives of the masses. Necessary conditions should be created for the operational and constructive nature of the preelectoral measures.

The attention of the conference participants was invited toward the need to activate the entire organizational and mass-political work of the party, soviet, trade unions, Komsomol, economic organizations, and propaganda and agitation means. This work should be carried out under the slogan of further development of socialist democracy and the strengthening of the communists and non-party bloc, the further involvement of the citizens in the administration of state and public affairs, and the elevation of the production and political activity of the republic's workers. It is necessary, during the electoral campaign and following that, to secure the united assembly of the communists and all the workers around the Communist Party, the growth of their determination to further dedicate all powers to consolidate the economic and defense power of the country.

## REGIONAL

### PARTY WORK IN ESTONIAN AGRO-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX ASSESSED

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 25 Oct 83 p 1

[Text] Two years have passed since the creation in our republic of new agencies for administering agriculture--the rayon agro-industrial association--and half a year since Estonian SSR Agroprom was created. Already it can be said that the route chosen by the party will, doubtlessly, aid in raising the effectiveness of production and the successful resolution of the Food Program. Favorable conditions have been created for consolidating the efforts not only of kolkhozes and sovkhoses but also of service organizations to achieve a better end product--increased harvests and farm productivity.

However, the same efficient structure without competent application cannot by itself provide the needed results. Positive changes will be determined first of all by the ability to put into operation the conceded by rayon industrial associations rights, economic and other levers, and by the direction of work of party and public organizations. How are these levers working today, what experience does the republic have for its political and organizational work, how should it organize its activity more effectively under new qualitative conditions--all of this was discussed at the republic seminar of first secretaries and heads of agricultural departments of party raykoms taking place today at the "Vyandra" kolkhoz.

The first secretary of the Estonian CP Central Committee, K. Vayno, opened the seminar.

A speech, "Perfecting the method of work of republic and rayon agro-industrial associations under conditions of the new system of administering agricultural production in the republic," was delivered by the first deputy chairman of the ESSR Council of Ministers and chairman of ESSR Agroprom Kh. Vel'di.

The experience of management by party and public organizations under conditions of Pyarnuskiy RAPO was reported by the first secretary of Pyarnuskiy party raykom V. Udam. The experience of organizing the work of party and public organizations in Vil'yandiskiy RAPO and its production zones was reported by the first secretary of Vil'yandiskiy party raykom R. El'vak.

At the seminar also reported: the first secretary of Rakvereskiy party raykom Yu. Niysuke about the work experience of the council of secretaries of primary party organizations under conditions of RAPO; the chairman of the Pyarnuskiy RAPO A. Soasepp spoke about experience of Pyarnuskiy RAPO in developing agricultural production; the chairman of "Vyandra" kolkhoz, Pyarnuskiy Rayon, M. Toom spoke about work experience in the Vyandraskiy Regional Soviet on organizing training work and solving problems of social development in the region; the manager of the agricultural department of Kokhtla-Yarveskiy party raykom Kh. Kruuza spoke about the experience of coordinating economic activity and party work under conditions of RAPO; the director of the exemplary sovkhos "Tori" in Pyarnuskiy Rayon P. Lutt--on work experience of the Toriskiy Regional Soviet in organizing socialist competition; and the chairman of Tartuskiy RAPO M. Avarmaa--on experience in developing collective forms of labor organizations in Tartuskiy RAPO.

Summing up the results of the seminar, K. Vayno emphasized that for us today there is no more important task than the successful fulfillment of the decisions of the May and November (1982) and June (1983) Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, the worthy completion of the defined, or as Yu. V. Andropov called it, the key year of the 11th Five-Year Plan in all fields of economic, social and cultural development. In this series of tasks, questions connected with fulfilling the Food Program occupy a special place.

What are the principal conclusions of the agricultural year now ending? It is necessary to note the following. The first steps of agro-industrial activity, without doubt, confirm the correctness of the measures taken by the party to perfect the administration of the agro-industrial complex. It is evident that during the current year party and soviet agencies were able to organize properly the fulfillment of tasks assigned to rayons in the field of agriculture.

Agricultural departments of party raykoms are, if it can be said, finding their identity. There is less fuss about meetings and more practical assistance in the organization of work on farms and serious attention is given to resolution of important problems.

Rayon agro-industrial associations have begun to exert with greater assurance a more positive influence on the further development of kolkhozes, sovkhoses and other RAPO enterprises. They are beginning to work more uniformly.

Further on, K. Vayno dwelt in detail on several main questions of ideology, organizational and mass-political work in villages, pointed out and analyzed shortcomings still to be found in this work. From today's demands, he noted, ensues the need for improving organizational and educational activity of primary party organizations in villages.

Forms of party social work, new and more adequate for these conditions, must correspond to the new form of economic management in villages. We have accumulated definite experience in this field. It was evaluated highly at the

June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau recommended using creatively the work experience of party and social organizations under conditions of RAPO available in Vil'yandiskiy and Pyarnuskiy Rayons.

In Vil'yandi and Pyarnu the creation of production zones and RAPO zonal soviets have justified themselves. They now exist in a number of other rayons. Practice shows that zonal soviets are the most acceptable form of party-political influence and coordinators of activity of economic leaders, party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations of farms within the zone limit. The creation of such councils should be considered expedient in all agro-industrial associations where production zones are established. Practice shows that zonal soviets become useful centers for party raykoms to conduct organized, mass-political and educational work on the premises, and make it possible to include a larger circle of people.

For coordinating the activity of primary party organizations in RAPO, some raykoms have created soviets of secretaries of RAPO party organizations. The work experience of these councils should also be more carefully studied and in due time summarized.

New work conditions in rural areas demand the creation of effective links in leadership of trade union organizations. In the Pyarnuskiy RAPO there is a soviet of trade union committee chairmen. Apparently the creation of such soviets is expedient in other places as well.

The work of rural Komsomol organizations also demands reorganizing. Here a need exists for a coordinating agency, guaranteeing coordination and intercommunication of all RAPO Komsomol organizations. The soviets of secretaries of Komsomol organizations serve as this agency.

In other words, life dictates to us a need for more energetically approving new working methods for leaders of party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations in villages, for more attention to be given to increasing activity, to perfecting the style and methods of their work, to the selection, arrangement and education of personnel and active members, and to the ideological, mass-political and educational work under conditions of agro-industrial associations as was demanded by the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

Success will be guaranteed only when people fully understand the essence of all the occurring changes. The Estonian CP Central Committee awaits from the propaganda writers, lecturers, journalists and activists of oral propaganda the deep knowledge and understanding or reorganization and support of everything new, which proceeds from the creativity of the masses under conditions of unity, by showing new forms and methods of economic management, from common interests and benefits within this framework. Our educational work should aid in establishing labor collectives, uphold new interests of people, consolidate laborers from farms and regions in solving current problems.



In concluding, K. Vayno dwelt on several questions concerning economic activity under conditions of RAPO. This year a majority of farms were better prepared for the spring, and on the whole their field work was organized and they managed rather well with fodder procurement and harvesting of crops. In the recount of feed units, the total fodder procurement was 12 percent higher than last year.

The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the All-Union Central Trade Union Council and the Komsomol Central Committee appraised highly the work of our livestock breeders, awarding the republic with an honorary certificate for the results of the last wintering of cattle.

And now farm laborers have caused rejoicing. During the past 9 months the average yield of milk per cow in the republic has increased by 306 kilograms compared to the same period last year. A considerable increase is noted in the farms of Raplaskiy, Paydeskiy and Kharyuskiy rayons. Purchases of meat and milk are going rather well in all rayons and there is reason to believe that the republic will fulfill the annual plans for this kind of production. But we must constantly keep in mind our primary agricultural, so to say, strategic undertaking for the 11th Five-Year Plan--reaching the limits set by the Food Program for production and procurement of the basic kinds of agricultural products.

Comrade K. Vayno was confident that rural party organizations will utilize the experience available and all the opportunities of RAPO for mobilizing rural laborers to assure fulfillment of five-year plans and socialist obligations, the increase of the republic's contribution toward the fulfillment of the USSR Food Program.

Participants in the seminar became acquainted with the work experience of the kolkhoz "Vyandra" and the technical center of kolkhoz "Suureyye" of Pyarnuskiy Rayon.

Participants in the work of the seminar were comrades A. Kudryavtsev, O. Merimaa, D. Visnapuu, L. Shishov, Estonian CP Central Committee department chairmen I. Kallas and A. Soyda, first deputy chairmen of ESSR Agroprom, ESSR Ministers V. Lind and A. Nakhkur.

12484

CSO: 1800/154

## REGIONAL

### LATVIAN MVD INITIATES REPUBLIC-WIDE PASSPORT CHECK

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 29 Oct 83 p 4

[Article by P. Semenov, chief of the Passport Division, Latvian SSR MVD, colonel of the Militia: "Attention Drawn to Passport System"]

[Text] Our country has only one union citizenship. Each citizen of a union republic is a citizen of the USSR. His belonging to the Land of the Soviets is attested by a basic personal document--the passport of a citizen of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This red book with the emblem of the USSR on the cover bears testimony also to the fact that its owner possesses equal rights with all citizens of the country irrespective of provenance, social and economic status, national origin, occupation, education, and place of residence. But the owner of a Soviet passport, along with all other citizens, is responsible before the law. He must observe strictly the Regulations of the passport system in the USSR, confirmed by the USSR Council of Ministers on 28 August 1974. It is the intent to remind the reader of the above in this article.

At the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee it was emphasized that the normal development of our society is inconceivable without the strictest observance of the laws safeguarding the interests of the state and the rights of citizens. This party directive has a direct bearing on the observance of the passport system as established in the country.

With a goal of checking out the observance of passport rules, the Latvian SSR MVD decided to inspect passport operations from 1 to 30 November 1983. The goal of the inspection is to check in cities and rayons, in ZhER's [expansion unknown] and rural soviets, at enterprises, at institutions and organizations the upholding of regulations which provide for registration in, and registration out, of citizens, and to ascertain which individuals avoid paying alimony and avoid paying to the public debt.

Carrying out this important measure, in which all militia and a wide circle of citizens will participate, is considered necessary because we still have many cases of violations of the passport system by citizens and by officials of enterprises, institutions, organizations and educational institutions.

In this way, officials of the Yaunelgavskiy Lespromkhoz in Stuchkinskiy Rayon hired without registration a certain Shtefur, who was being sought by the Administration of Internal Affairs of Zakarpatskiy Oblast for plundering state property. In construction administration No 68 of the city of Yurmaly a certain Buks, whom the OVD [Department of Internal Affairs] of the Riga rayispolkom had been seeking for not paying alimony, was given authorization to work without being registered. A certain Abolinya was hired to work at Sovkhoz "Madliyena," Ogrskiy Rayon; for a long time she had been in hiding for not fulfilling a court decision to pay alimony in support of her mother. Unfortunately such cases are numerous. During the third quarter of 1983 alone, after checking the passport system of the Latvian SSR Ministry of Consumer Services, 20 cases of people being hired without being registered were found.

Some of our higher and special secondary educational institutions also do not check on the observance of the passport system. Young men and women admitted for studies are not registered for a prolonged period of time but are lodged in dormitories. Such facts were revealed at the Liyepayskiy Pedagogical Institute and at the Tsesisskiy Medical School.

During the inspection explanatory work will, of course, be conducted. Some officials understand registration regulations for citizens incorrectly, considering that if a citizen is registered in one administrative rayon, he may live and work in any other city or rayon. Such an understanding benefits only violators. The place of registration should be the citizen's place of permanent residency.

For example, a citizen lives in Riga and works in Ogrskiy or Riga Rayon. He does not violate the passport system. But if an individual living in Riga or Bauske works in Yekabpils or Daugavpils, traveling back and forth daily is not possible and so he is forced to live there--he violates the passport system as does also the official who hired him.

It should also be mentioned that not all citizens paste their photographs into their passports on time upon reaching age 25 or age 45. In this way they create problems for themselves when they apply to institutions or organizations where the presentation of a passport is necessitated (Gosbank, savings bank and others). With the absence of a photograph in the passport, financial transactions are not allowed since the passport, in this case, is not valid.

There is no doubt that the inspection of passport work will promote the strengthening of discipline and socialist legality, cultivate in citizens a respectful attitude towards the passport--a basic document for every Soviet citizen.

12484

CSO: 1800/151

## REGIONAL

### HEAD OF TURKMEN MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, LANGUAGE DEPARTMENT, ON RUSSIAN

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 25 Oct 83 p 4

[V. Koshelchenkova, head of the Russian Language and Literature Department, Ministry of Education, TSSR]

[Text] At the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum our fluent mastery of Russian, the language of internationality contact, along with the language of our own nationality, was called an on-going phenomenon. At the Plenum they talked about several instances where poor knowledge of Russian limits access to the riches of an international culture and narrows the circle of a person's activities and contacts.

For example, a young soldier doesn't have an easy time when first joining the ranks of the Armed Forces, but this period is even more difficult when he speaks Russian poorly. The knowledge of the Russian language, freely adopted by the people of our country as a common historic legacy, is an extraordinarily important facility for every young person in the national republics.

The CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers recently adopted a resolution for setting up conditions that would facilitate the study of Russian for the population of the national republics. As demanded by the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee, this resolution must be actively put into practice.

In our republic a coordinated system of Russian language study at the various levels was developed and is in operation from pre-schools to VUZes [institutions of higher learning]. Special attention is placed on teaching Russian in schools. In Turkmenistan's 1,526 general education schools students are taught in four languages: Turkmen, Russian, Uzbek and Kazakh. In schools with Turkmen as the primary language, Russian is taught as an academic subject from the 1st through 10th grades. In 31 schools this subject is taught in-depth in a specialized program.

Every year, the number of schools where classes are split into two sub-groups during the study of Russian is growing. In the 4th-8th grades there is a transition to studying textbooks compiled according to improved programs. To expand students' knowledge of Russian language and literature 400 Republic high schools have organized elective courses.



Extra-curricular and extra-scholastic work in Russian is being improved. In particular, much attention is being paid to military-patriotic indoctrination. Many schools have organized military affairs clubs and the sports game 'A nu-ka, parni' [Now then, fellows] is regularly played. Young people attend meetings with war and labor veterans and have talks with representatives of voenkomat [military registration and enlistment office]. And all this is done in Russian.

The olympiads have become an effective way of popularizing Russian. They have been held in the Republic regularly since 1980. The all-union review of socio-political works written in Russian supports this same goal. The systemically conducted 'Russian days' and 'Russian weeks' and the reviews of amateur talent shows strengthen students' attention and love for the Russian language.

Significant work has been done in improving the material training base for teaching Russian language and literature, in furnishing study rooms and in equipping them with technical equipment. More than 1000 study rooms are in operation, half of which have tape recorders.

Now Russian language teachers and military instructors are closely coordinating their work to more successfully teach young people oral skills and to enrich their vocabulary with military terms which are essential for service in the Soviet Army. For example, in National School Number 10, located in the city of Mary, a number of subjects (work and athletics) are conducted in Russian. Pupils speak Russian at their Komsomol meetings. Many graduates of this school successfully pass competitive exams for institutes and military schools.

Each year the number of young people of the local nationalities who have expressed the desire to dedicate their lives to the heroic profession of an officer is growing. Teachers and military instructors give these senior-classmen any help possible to prepare them for these competitive exams.

Since 1979 courses in improving the knowledge of Russian for pre-conscription youth on the local nationalities have been organized and put into a 240-hour program. As a rule, the most experienced teachers conduct these courses which are held in general education schools. Future soldiers, as they master Russian, especially spoken Russian, become acquainted with the history of the Soviet Armed Forces and all-arms regulations.

Such courses are actively being taught at the 5th and 8th high schools in Kirovskiy Rayon and the 1st and 5th high schools in Ashkhabad Rayon. Teachers are sparing no effort or time, are applying various technical resources skillfully and widely and are drawing on extensive supplementary material in developing an interest and love for the great and powerful Russian language, the language our whole army speaks.

However, there is still a significant part of Republic high school graduates that speaks Russian poorly. There are many reasons for this. There are not enough specialists, the methodological service is not working at full strength, schools have a weak resource base and school administrations have insufficient control over measures for intensified Russian study. We are now working on eliminating all of these deficiencies.

12511

CSO: 1830/147

## REGIONAL

### PERFORMANCE OF NEW OBLISPOLKOM ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENTS VIEWED

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 23 Nov 83 p 2

/Article by V. Yamchinskiy, chairman of the ispolkom of the Zhitomir Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies: "The Main Link: The First Steps of an Ispolkom's Organization Department"/

/Excerpts/ When visiting the ispolkoms of city and rayon soviets of people's deputies, I invariably try to meet with the workers of their organization departments. Problems in improving the activity of permanent commissions, in providing for the all-round development of cities and villages, and in coordinating the work of all the links in the economic mechanism are now concentrated there.

"Having established organization departments," A. L. Koval', chairman of the Ovruchskiy rayispolkom, said recently in conversation, "we began to influence business in the rayon more effectively and to see the prospects and reserves of the future all-round development of the territory in our charge more clearly. In a short time our organization department was transformed into a real staff that coordinates the mass organizational work of the soviet and its organs.

But how many conversations and deliberations there were when the Ukase of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR which provided for the formation of such departments in gor- and rayispolkoms came out in the fall of 1982. Some proposed not to hurry and to establish only a few at first. In due course, it was said, we will study the experience of the work thoroughly, compile a list of the duties of the director and the instructors, and only later set about the establishment of organization departments for the whole oblast in real earnest.

Then we got together the oblispolkom department directors and the most experienced rayispolkom secretaries, who had previously done practically all the mass organizational work locally. They exchanged opinions. And decided, though it wouldn't be easy (there were still no such departments in the rayispolkoms of the republic's other oblasts), to establish organization departments everywhere immediately.

A provisional statute worked out by the oblispolkom became the basis of their activity. The party's raykoms and gorkoms and the gor- and rayispolkoms selected people with higher education, who possessed good organizational skills, and who

were capable of solving the tasks confronting them creatively for the post of director of the new departments. A 5-day seminar was conducted in the oblispolkom for the organization department directors, at which special attention was devoted to tasks ensuing from the decisions of the May and November (1982) Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and the instructions of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov on the questions of improving managerial activity, promoting responsibility and organization, and strengthening state and executive discipline.

The organization department directors were made acquainted with how these questions were being resolved in practice in the organizational-instructional and other departments of the oblispolkom and in the Chernyakhovskiy and Chervonoarmeyskiy rayispolkoms. They also visited the Singurovskiy village soviet of Zhitomirskiy Rayon and the Kocherovskiy village soviet of Radomyshl'skiy Rayon, where the influence of the local soviets on the all-round development of the territories in their jurisdiction and on public services and amenities has noticeably increased in recent years.

Comparatively little time passed from the day of the organization of the new departments before changes for the better in the work of the soviets were already noticeable. And this is magnificent evidence of the timeliness of establishing such departments.

The heightening of the role and the broadening in recent years of the powers of the local soviets as organs of state authority and as the direct organizers of the realization of the party's socioeconomic policy have expanded their organizational and control functions and called forth the need to raise the mass organizational work of the soviets to a higher and qualitatively new level. The resolution of such tasks was often simply not within the power of the gor- and rayispolkom secretaries alone, who previously were also responsible for this very important element of work. Now the organization departments have taken it upon their shoulders.

And practice has shown that we acted correctly in establishing such departments everywhere immediately. This permitted us to strengthen organizationally the main section of the gor- and rayispolkoms and to make more effective use of the apparat's workers without expanding their staffs.

Now it has already become usual that many labor collectives have sociologist specialists who study the possibilities of improving the microclimate and establishing the businesslike, creative environment necessary to increase labor productivity. To some degree, the organization department workers are also sociologists. Visiting the villages, they meet with the deputies, kolkhozniks, toilers of the service sphere, and specialists; discuss vital problems with them; and then use this rich living material in preparing for sessions of the rayon soviet and meetings of the ispolkom.

The majority of the oblast's organization departments work single-mindedly, supported by the aktiv.

The organization departments make use of the best experience of deputy groups and posts, and are obtaining every possible support and extension of their initiatives.

Recently the first results were summed up at a 2-day seminar-practicum for organizational-instructional department directors with participation by gor- and rayispolkom secretaries. The organization department directors exchanged experiences and made suggestions regarding improvement of activities and cadre training and increasing the effectiveness of all the work. We understand that the new departments have only taken their first steps. But those steps were confident. The oblispolkom is doing everything possible to augment the best experience of mass organizational work, to improve the traditional and to seek new forms for soviet activity, and to increase soviet effectiveness. There is no doubt that all this will aid in further strengthening the influence of the organs of popular authority in realizing the tasks of the economic and social development of the oblast.

12462

CSO: 1800/193



## REGIONAL

### LITHUANIA DEDICATES MEMORIAL TO WW II UNDERGROUND FIGHTERS

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 19 Nov 83 p 1

/Editorial: Eternal Glory To the Fighters For the Motherland's Freedom

/Text/ In Vilnius on 18 November 1983 a monument to the partisans and members of the Lithuanian underground, fighters against the Hitlerite invaders, was solemnly unveiled in a square along Komyauno Street.

At 3 pm girls in national costume approach the memorial with flowers. The state flags of the USSR and the fraternal republics are carried in. Soldiers and Pioneers stand in honor guard and marches ring out. Participants in the partisan and underground movements, representatives of collectives and enterprises, young people and soldiers of the Soviet Army gather in the place of honor.

At the solemnity were comrades P. Grishkyavichus, V. Astrauskas, A. Barkauskas, A. Brazauskas, N. Dybenko, A. Kayryalis, V. Sakalauskas, R. Songayla, A. Ferensas, L. Shepetis, V. Kardamavichyus, Yu. Petkyavichyus, Deputy Representatives of the Republic's Soviet of Ministers Yu. Bernatavichyus, A. Drobnis, V. Kazanavichyus, Yu. Rusenko, A. Chesnavichus and other leaders of the Party, soviets, professional unions and Komsomol workers.

First Secretary for the Vilnius Gorkom of the Lithuanian Communist Party V. Sakalauskas opened the meeting.

First Secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee P. Grishkyavichus, who had taken part in the partisan movement, was given the floor.

Today Comrade P. Griskyavichus said, we are unveiling a monument to the Lithuanian partisans and members of the underground who contributed to the rout of the German Nazi invaders in the severe years of the Great Patriotic War.

The treacherous attack on our country by Hitlerite Germany brought much sorrow to the Soviet peoples, including Lithuanians. Conducting a policy of genocide and colonization in the temporarily occupied Lithuanian land, the fascist invaders mercilessly wiped out peaceful inhabitants and destroyed the economy and culture of our land. But the Lithuanian people, like the people of the

multinational Soviet country, did not flinch. The brutality and outrages by the occupiers aroused hatred and resistance against the 20th Century barbarians. Under the tested leadership of the Communist Party, a massive antifascist movement developed in Lithuania.

The Lithuanian people are deeply thankful to the glorious Soviet Army for its immortal feat accomplished during the rout of fascist Germany and its satellites and for freeing Soviet Lithuania. The bravery and heroism of the Soviet soldier-liberator is eternally imprinted on the people's memory. More than 50,000 soldiers of the Soviet Army met a brave death just during the republic's liberation. Their names will always be kept in the military chronicles of the Great Patriotic War and in the minds and hearts of all Soviet Lithuanian workers.

With deepest gratitude the Lithuanian people have been, are and always will be thankful to the great Russian people for their decisive contribution to the defense of freedom and independence of the Motherland and for liberating the workers of the Neman region from fascist slavery and destruction.

We frankly take pride in the fact that Lithuania's best sons and daughters, making up the 16th Lithuanian Rifle Division, also actively and steadfastly fought the hated enemy shoulder to shoulder with all the Soviet peoples. The earth also burned under the feet of the Hitlerite invaders in the rear areas.

People called Soviet partisans the peoples' avengers. During the war more than 90 partisan detachments and groups united more than 10,000 individuals in the battle with the enemy within the Republic's territory. Constantly aware of the total support of the people, the Lithuanian partisans sternly avenged themselves on the German fascist invaders and their accomplices, Lithuanian bourgeois nationalists, actively exposed the slanderous anticommunist propaganda, aroused all strata of the population to the decisive battle for total victory over the enemy. Partisans received much help from the numerous groups of antifascist underground workers, whole ranks of which by their own brave resistance to the occupiers wrote brilliant pages in the heroic chronicles of the people's struggle for their own existence and bright future.

The staff of the Lithuanian partisan movement, led by a visible figure of the Communist Party and Soviet State, former First Secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Antanas Sneckus, played an exceptionally important role in expanding and reinforcing the partisan and liberation struggle by Lithuanian people in rear areas.

The partisan and underground movement accomplished many glorious feats and the Motherland values them highly. But not all of them returned from the battlefields and not all saw the radiant and joyous day of victory. We will honor them with a minute of silence!

We are unveiling this memorial to Lithuanian partisans and underground in troubled times, when the most aggressive efforts of imperialism, headed by the Reagan administration, are doing everything to poison the international atmosphere and put humanity on the brink of catastrophe.

The workers of Soviet Lithuania, as all Soviet people, unanimously approve the statement by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Comrade Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov and the principles and conclusions contained in his answers to PRAVDA's questions. They angrily condemn the militaristic aggressive policies of U.S. ruling circles, their adventurism and aspirations to forcibly press all peoples to their own antipopular will and their dangerous military preparation.

The workers of the republic, closely united around the Communist Party and its Leninist Central Committee, heartily support all peaceful Soviet initiatives, are firmly resolved to increase the historic achievements of Great October through their persistent labor and to still more actively raise the economic and defensive might of our Motherland. There is no doubt that the monument to Lithuanian partisans and underground, active warriors for the freedom and independence of our Soviet Motherland, will inspire their selfless labor.

Let me thank the sculptors Al'gis Zokaytis and Yuozas Kalinauskas, and architects Gediminas Baravikas, Gitis Ramunis and Kyastutis Pyame for designing this memorial.

Let this monument become yet another bright symbol of our fidelity to the people's revolutionary and fighting tradition, our wholehearted devotion to the great pursuit of communism and peace!

12511

CSO: 1800/210

## REGIONAL

### BAD MANAGEMENT, CORRUPTION IN RSFSR FRUIT AND VEGETABLE INDUSTRY

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Nov 83 p 2

[Article by V. Avdevich, special correspondent, and I. Rashkovets, RSFSR Assistant Public Prosecutor: "Bonuses for...Losses: At the RSFSR Ministry of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry Padding and the Squandering of Public Property Have Not Been Firmly Stopped"]

[Text] Month after month the Lyubertsy Canning Plant reliably fulfilled the plan tasks for sales of output. The good fulfillment figures enhanced the authority of the management and brought bonuses to the collective. But suddenly inspectors from the Lyublinskiy Rayon People's Control committee audited the reports and discovered them to be systematically padded. As it turned out at that enterprise the figures on the value of finished output were padded by adding to them the cost of surcharges for production losses, transport fees, the cost of tare, sales discounts... Over a year the total sum reached a respectable size: more than half a million rubles.

"How did it happen?"

The plant director V. P. Chudotvorov answered sadly: "The bookkeeping department let us down. After all, I'm no expert on bookkeeping and could not verify the reliability of the figures...."

References to his own incompetence are no credit to the director. And the more so, they are no justification. As the manager, he was supposed to establish a rigorous accounting and monitoring system at the enterprise. With the aid of experts, of course. But that is the heart of the matter, considering that vacancies for the positions of chief bookkeeper and other leading experts had remained unfilled for months....

A characteristic detail: "inspection visits" at the plant were not infrequently made by A. Sal'nikov, chief of the main administration of the canning and curing industry under the RSFSR "Minplodooveshchkhov" [Ministry of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry] and N. Kovchug, his chief bookkeeper. But they, too, did not notice the systematic padding of plan figures. It turns out that monitoring by the ministry too was not at the level.



What happened in Lyubertsy is not an isolated instance. Not so long ago, on auditing the reports of the organizations subordinate to the RSFSR Minplodoovoshchkhov, the RSFSR Central Statistical Administration discovered padding of figures at every second plant. The cause was the same: incompetence, and sometimes the unwillingness to set up an effective system for auditing the bookkeeping. In the final analysis, for this very reason, instances of pilferage, spoilage and losses of finished output have occurred within the branch's associations. A recent audit by the republic's Ministry of Finance revealed a shortfall of goods totaling 329,000 rubles at seven enterprises of the RSFSR Minplodoovoshchkhov. For example, V. Paleyev, director of the "Komintern" Sovkhoz, Gorkiyplodoovoshchkhov Association, has, together with his subordinates--deputy director V. Grishin, chief engineer A. Grishin, chief power engineer A. Derbenev and former party organization secretary V. Svirskiy--appropriated and spent 32,000 rubles. The heads of the vegetable storage depots at base No 1 of the Irkutskplodoovoshchkhov, M. Aksenov, R. Morozov, A. Zelenova, V. Chanturidze, T. Kudava, and depot employee V. Ignat'yev, "released" the goods in such a manner that a shortfall of 169,000 rubles occurred as a result. Yu. Mozhartsev, chief agronomist at the "Pionerskiy" Sovkhoz, "Priazov'ye" Firm (Rostov Oblast), and L. Irupina, threshing department head, transferred to the "Wastes" column about 43,000 tons of sunflower, thus earning more than 15,000 rubles.

The criminals were detected by workers of the law enforcement organs, who also instituted criminal proceedings against them. But what about the local comptrollers? Why were they so inefficient? As it turned out, autonomous audit departments still have not been organized in one-third of the associations. Owing to this, last year the planned audits could not be carried out at 533 enterprises. And at 44 of these enterprises no audits at all had been conducted for 2 years. But even in cases in which ministry and association auditors uncovered major shortfalls and pilferage, they were in no hurry to "sweep the dirt out." Last year administrative auditors discovered illegally subtracted items and illegally paid bonuses totaling 193,000 rubles at the Khabarovsk City Fruit and Vegetable Center. But they transmitted their findings to the investigative organs only after... 10 months. The Stavropol, Chita and Ryazan fruit and vegetable associations also waited a long time before notifying the investigative organs....

Padding, pilferage, spoilage and losses of material values at the branch's enterprises have reached such a scale that the republic's public prosecutor had to send a special report to V. Naumov, RSFSR Minister of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry. On examining with his collegium the materials prepared by the jurists, the minister issued an order which was to put an end to poor management and abuses. Reading the thick sheaf of the attendant documents, one might feel that order is about to be finally introduced on the scale of the entire branch. It admits all the facts cited in the prosecutor's report and enumerates the measures that should be taken to rectify the situation.

But the question arises: to what extent will these measures work in practice? Why is doubt arising? Because the attitude toward the officials responsible for mismanagement is not demanding enough. For example, A. Sal'nikov, chief of the main administration of the canning and curing industry, was given a "reprimand" for "...serious violations of the security of socialist public property, insufficient work to prevent shortfalls, pilferage and spoilage of

material goods as well as to prevent illegal expenditures of funds...." And yet it was precisely this executive, to whom the Lyubertsy Canning Plant also was subordinated, who by his laxity prolonged the long-time practice of the padding of figures at that plant. A bare few days after the rayon people's control committee had discovered the accounts deficit, administration chief A. Sal'nikov hastened to provide material assistance to him and his subordinates. What is more, 2 months later he credited them with solid bonuses. Let us recall that as late as in May 1981 that administrator had received an official warning from the RSFSR Procurature about the impermissibility of breaches of the law, and that then, as now, considerable losses due to shortfalls, pilferage, mismanagement and violations of state discipline had been tolerated at many enterprises within the system of the "Roskonservprom" [RSFSR Administration of the Canning and Curing Industry]. During the period elapsed since then the situation at the plants of that administration has not changed. And yet, the minister's order specifies...a reprimand for A. Sal'nikov!?

The public prosecutor's report declared that "examination of audit findings has been unjustifiably postponed and the culprits have not always been made legally accountable, and no exhaustive measures have been taken to collect from them material damages." Nevertheless, V. Samoylenko, chief of the monitoring and auditing administration, assured us that things are not as bad as they might outwardly seem.

He remonstrated: "Our apparat is not idle. Each year it is gaining in strength and becoming more proactive. In 1981--the year the ministry was established--15 audits and thematic inspections were carried out, and this year 50."

Yes, the apparat has been more active. But what results has it produced? In 1981 the deficit due to shortfalls, pilferage and material losses, as detected by administrative auditors totaled 1.3 million rubles, while last year they already totaled 5.9 million.

Unfortunately, no major practical changes have occurred in the ministry's performance following these audits. The audit records were placed in file folders and pigeonholed by both the auditors and the audited. It was only 2 months after responsible commissions visited the Checheno-Ingush and Astrakhan associations that the Collegium of the RSFSR Minplodoovoshchkhov considered the abuses uncovered there and issued directives. As for the findings of the audits conducted at the Moscow and North Ossetiya fruit and vegetable industry associations as far back as in August of last year, the Ministry simply paid no attention to them. Neither administrative nor legal sanctions were taken.

V. Samoylenko offered the justification: "But the Collegium cannot issue directives concerning every individual audit. And besides I do not see anything special about the oversights reported by the auditors."

Nothing special? But one of the audit reports states: "Over the year 1981 a shortfall of 79 head of cattle, 36 horses and 10 hogs, along with losses and spoilage of farm produce worth 137,000 rubles, was discovered at the "Mosplodoovoshchkhov." We open the report for the following year and read: "Over the first 6 months of the year shortfalls, pilferage and spoilage of goods at the "Mosplodoovoshchkhov" Association were found to total 280,000 rubles." As we see, the total losses had doubled

within just 6 months. But the culprits were ordered to repay only 2,000 rubles. And V. Samoylenko considers this quite normal!

But the effectiveness of administrative audits is also affected by the lack of businesslike and principled cooperation among certain of the ministry's services. Consider just one instance: last year the draft of a new statute for the monitoring and auditing administration had been prepared at the ministry. It defines--pursuant to the law--not only the duties but also the rights of auditors. So what happened? As soon as that document was transmitted for a "visa" to M. Farber, chief of the legal department, its provisions were revised to such an extent as to delete the very concept of the "rights of the auditor." The case then traveled to the desk of deputy minister N. Aver'yanov. But he too showed no concern for the authority and rights of administrative audits. Other instances, too, occurred: various reports filed by the agency's auditors have not infrequently been held up in the legal department. How can, in view of this, operative steps be taken?

The low effectiveness of ministerial audits is also due to the fact that at present every third audit is conducted without participation by experienced jurists, bookkeepers, economists and planners....For example, the staff of the legal department at the RSFSR Minplodoovoshchkhov has in 2 years participated only twice in ministerial audits, and even when they did so it was only for form's sake. The department chief M. Farber confined his participation in the commission auditing the "Mosplodoovoshchkhov" Association to verifying the validity of the directives issued. And yet, according to calculations by the RSFSR Ministry of Finance, the deficit due to shortfalls and pilferage traced to individual employees of the branch now exceeds 5.3 million rubles. As for the indemnity paid, it accounted for only one-third of the damages to the state.

Who then within the branch is responsible for accounting and monitoring? A. Kolchin, chief of the bookkeeping and reports department, M. Farber, chief of the legal and arbitration department, and V. Samoylenko, chief of the monitoring and auditing department. The state has entrusted to them the protection of socialist public property within an entire branch of the agro-industrial complex. They were endowed with the necessary rights and provided with a large staff. How are they exercising their prescribed duties? Negligently, let us say it plainly. The deficit due to shortfalls, pilferage and losses of goods last year amounted to 45 million rubles according to the figures of the RSFSR Ministry of Finance. This is how much has the passivity of officials cost the state. And what about the criterion of responsibility? V. Naumov, RSFSR Minister of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry, has drawn the attention of these administrators to being "insufficiently demanding toward subordinates." And he even exhorted them to "intensify work."

Have not they gotten away too easily? Is not such leniency costly?

1386

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REGIONAL

PUBLIC USE OF PRIVATE LIBRARIES ENCOURAGED IN KAZAKHSTAN

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Dec 83 p 4

[Article: "A Home Library For Everyone"]

[Text] Assistant Professor S. A. Kuz'menko was congratulated on two events in her life -- the 25th anniversary of her work as an instructor and her appointment as dean of the School of Philology, at Pavlodar Pedagogical Institute. Words of gratitude were expressed to her not only by her colleagues and students, but also by approximately 200 constant readers of her home library.

She has at home almost 4000 volumes, mostly on literature and linguistics. Her library includes books that are one of a kind -- from M. V. Lomonosov's "Rossiyskaya grammatika" [Russian Grammar] to the last works of Professor V. V. Vinogradov, and other Russian and Soviet scientists.

Every time that she goes on a temporary-duty assignment in connection with her scientific work, or on a vacation, she returns with dozens of books. But S. A. Kuz'menko by no means puts all of them in her home library. She gives many of them to the reading room at the institute, or to the Russian-language and literature labs under the various schools. They carry a small inscription: "Donated by S. Kuz'menko." According to the rough computations made by her colleagues, the books that she has donated and autographed total almost a thousand of the most valuable works, many of which exist in only a single copy.

In the Pavlodar Irtysh area, there are dozens of similar home libraries in operation.

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